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Editor's Notes

'If everything else is done and public administration fails, all fails.' (Clarence L. Blau)

National plans and the technical skills to implement them are of very limited value if they exceed the administrative capacity of the government machine. In this number we look in particular at the training of administrators, and the efforts made in the Sudan, India and Lesotho to achieve a competent development-oriented Public Service. Laurence Taylor examines the results of the crash programme for public service personnel mounted in the South Sudan by the University of Birmingham. Juniors were trained at Juba and seniors in Britain. While this clearly did much to help a whole region emerge from the trauma of civil war into an era of peace, staff-wise it provided a short-term solution only and a well-founded local training system now needs to be established. Dr Raghavulu reviews the attempts made to introduce administrative reform in Andhra Pradesh in order to make effective a district agricultural programme supported by the Ford Foundation. While able administrators adopted new, flexible methods and ensured 'drive' for the programme, the changes were adopted informally 'and were not incorporated into the administrative doctrine'. Reforms stimulated by an external agency seem unlikely to obtain long-term local acceptability in India.

David Hirschmann and Malcolm Wallis report on a vocation assignment with University students in Lesotho, who undertook a research project provided by practical work situations in ministries and government offices. They conclude that the experiment proved well worthwhile and that it is never really too soon for future administrators to learn the facts of administrative life.

We also include in this number Ademola Salau's cogently argued plea for future national land policies in Nigeria, which he wishes to see bring uniformity to the country's land laws, provide agricultural holdings in land-surplus states for the landless from urban and other crowded areas, and ensure effectively imposed *and* collected land/property taxes.

Finally, Patrick Wakely looks at current attitudes to urban planning, finds all too often that plans and their implementation stray far apart and he suggests that 'action planning', a continuous process led by the public sector and responding flexibly to changes in the structure of society, is the solution that should be sought.

Evaluation of the Administrative Training Programmes in The Southern Sudan 1975-1977**

LAURENCE TAYLOR*

Background

In 1974, a team from the Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham, visited the Sudan to undertake a survey of the field administrative machinery of the Southern Region Government. The team identified very substantial inadequacies in the manning and the formal training of the administrative service, most of which could be attributed to the Region's sudden emergence from civil war to regional autonomy. As a result of this survey, and discussions at an administrative conference held in Juba in June 1974, the Group has been engaged in a programme of basic administrative training for the field administrative service of the Southern Region Government, and providing an opportunity for its more senior members to study development administration in an international context.

The Southern Sudan covers some 650,000 sq kilometres, which is an area bigger than that of either Kenya or Uganda. On the other hand the population is sparse, with estimates varying between just over 3 million (an extrapolation of the 1973 census) to approximately 3.6 million (taking into account the very considerable number of refugees known to have returned to the Southern Sudan during and after the census). Juba, the regional capital, is 1200 kilometres from Khartoum and 2500 kilometres from Port Sudan (the country's only outlet to the sea). The natural problems of remoteness, communication and supply have been greatly aggravated by the aftermath of 17 years civil war. Despite strenuous efforts over the years since the 1972 Peace Agreement, the normal infrastructure for modern government has yet to be established. The years of civil war destroyed a large amount of socio-economic investment, and have deprived the public service of a whole generation of middle level administrators and professionals.

The 1976 ILO mission to the Sudan, in its report *Growth Employment and Equity*, states that:

The South will not get far if central, regional and local governments are weak and ineffective

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**This article is a condensed version of an evaluation report prepared for the Ministry of Overseas Development after the author's visit to the Southern Sudan in March and April 1977.

and do little more than provide employment for unimaginative officials who cannot give the South the service it needs and deserves.

The situation is certainly serious, but this quotation does less than justice to the efforts being made by a determined group of senior and junior administrators in the South, who are under no illusions about the harshness of the environment and the weaknesses within the administration, and yet are determined to press ahead with their task.

The Birmingham University Analysis, 1974

The report on *Development Administration and Training in the Sudan*, published by Birmingham University's Institute of Local Government Studies in 1974, is a comprehensive document which continues to enjoy a high reputation amongst Government and United Nations officials in the Sudan. Some of the report's training conclusions were that:

A very large, very rapid but very necessary intake of junior administrators has given the administrative service a broad base of inexperienced new recruits, but left it seriously short of experienced senior men to organise, control and 'break in' this raw material.

The immediate tasks are to ground new recruits in the basics of administration, to increase the effectiveness of senior administrators, and if possible to promote promising junior officers so that they can relieve the strain at senior levels as soon as possible. It is better policy to aim at training large numbers of field administrators in short courses as soon as is practicable, rather than to rely on small numbers of specially selected officers trained at depth over a lengthy period.

For the junior administrators, we believe that a course of ten weeks duration will be enough to cover in adequate depth the subjects outlined (Goals of Administration and Management, Law and Administration, Budgeting and Taxation, Basic Administrative Skills, the Administrative Environment, the Administrator and the Supervision of Development, the Administrator and the Initiation of Development, Council Area Development Planning).

The New Training Programme

In 1975, 9 selected senior officers from the regional administration were sent to Birmingham to attend a four months course in the Management of Rural Development. In the same year, 48 junior administrators attended the first of the Juba-based courses run by the University of Birmingham in conjunction with the Ministry of Regional Administration and Legal Affairs. The Regional Ministry in Juba undertook the selection of students, and gathered together those with the highest formal qualifications amongst approximately 125 junior administrators in post at that time.

All had been in their current administrative posts less than three years, but they had a wide variety of educational background and previous experience. A significant number had served with the Anyanya guerillas as administrators during the civil war, and others had been army officers, clerks, teachers, social workers, labour and co-operative officers.

In 1976 a further group of 8 senior administrative staff from the Ministry of

Regional Administration attended the Birmingham short course, whilst a further 48 junior officers gathered for the second of the Juba courses. The course members were not so well qualified as the previous year's intake, either in terms of educational background or in terms of working experience.

In 1977 a further group of 8 senior officers (including 5 who had done particularly well on the 1975 Juba course) attended the senior management course at Birmingham, whilst a third and final in-service training programme for junior administrators was run in Juba, with Birmingham University once more providing two members of staff to support the teaching programme.

Only 20 students were enrolled, and 11 of these were some of the weaker members of the 1976 course who were being allowed to repeat the training programme to enable them to attempt the examination a second time.

Evaluation of the Junior Administrators' Training Courses in Juba

The material for this evaluation was drawn from five separately identifiable categories of informant. The first group comprised senior officials within the Regional Government, whilst the second group consisted of upper middle-level line managers who had been the immediate supervisors of many of the ex-trainees. The third group contained a cross-section of ex-trainees who had performed well on the Juba courses, whilst the fourth group represented those who had done less well or even failed the course. The fifth and final component for this evaluation was provided by the observations of the author, as moderated and amplified in the course of discussions with observers outside the Ministry of Regional Administration.

At the highest levels of the Regional Government, consistent appreciation of the Juba training programme was forthcoming. Amongst Ministers, Commissioners, Executive Directors and Assistant Commissioners, the only criticisms raised were in relation to the inadequate calibre of some of the staff sent for training, and problems arising from promotion blockages that had led to a degree of disillusion in some of the people who performed best on the training programmes. As regards post-training performance, comments were almost universally positive and appreciative. It was stated that the courses have definitely helped the better men to become more effective, and those who were capable of grasping the new material had made good use of their training. They had shown a positive attitude and a greater ability to accept responsibility, and many of them were proving very effective in running local councils. Others had performed particularly well on secondment to the Sudan Socialist Union, and in relation to tax collection duties. Competence in local government financial work had improved as a result of training, and the practicality of the training had been particularly appreciated. It must be added, however, that senior level management was aware that the benefits of training had been unequally spread across the ex-trainees. Whilst the more capable men had gained a great deal, a significant proportion of the weaker officers had gained very much less. It was generally recognised that the training programme had had a dual function – in the words of one senior official, it had been effective both 'to train and to weed'. The concensus view amongst the most senior officials was that the Juba training programme had been highly effective on both counts.

The view expressed by a cross-section of middle management officials was somewhat different. This group included a number of officers who had attended the more senior courses in Birmingham, together with others who had received graduate and post-graduate training in Khartoum. They were competent, informed and articulate people, heading local authorities or holding senior positions in the provincial administration. Many of them considered that the Juba courses had attempted too much. Whilst the real need of junior officers was to learn how to handle office routines, the course had tried to initiate them into the more exotic skills of development planning. It would have been better to reserve such subjects for subsequent training, particularly as there was a continuing lack of council funds for development work. One of the failures that had been observed was that crammed learning evaporates quickly under the pressure of work, and many of the trainees had returned to find that massive arrears of tax collection and the routine requests of petitioners were the two major things that preoccupied them from day to day. Several line managers said that many of those who had been trained at Juba had found considerable difficulty in handling ordinary office routines, and had had very limited success in putting their new management learning into practice. These difficulties had been aggravated by the fact that some of the ex-trainees had been given inappropriate postings, and few of them had received adequate supervision during the post-training phase of their staff development experience. But the group of officers who raised these issues recognised that some of the points were in fact criticisms of their own supervision of the ex-trainees serving under them, and they balanced the criticisms with a number of commendations. One line manager commented that the Juba course appeared to have been much more useful than the post-graduate academic training that he himself had received at the University of Khartoum during his own early career. Another senior officer said that those who had been trained at Juba (and particularly those trained in 1975) had been widely appreciative of the training they had received. Most important of all, there was general agreement that the Juba courses had performed a valuable function in pulling together the very diverse group of junior administrators recruited to the Regional Government service in 1972, by giving them a common body of knowledge and a common approach to administration which had been particularly noticeable and beneficial since they had returned to their work.

Amongst the officers who had obtained good results at the end of the Juba courses, there was sincere and wide-ranging appreciation of the way in which the course had helped them in their work. They had found the Juba training much more useful and practical than a Khartoum course attended in 1972. They commented that the Juba course had helped them to differentiate clearly between the political, economic and administrative strands of their work, and had equipped them to analyse problems much more successfully on their return to administrative duties. It had given them a better comprehension of Government administration, management techniques, rural development planning and programming. Practical exercises in writing reports and presenting papers to the group had increased their skills in this respect. Some (but not all) felt competent with the minuting of meetings and the basic skills of community development work. Practical subjects such as the control and maintenance of vehicles had been very useful, and there was general praise for

the comprehensive nature of the instruction given. Many course participants remarked that their own wider knowledge and understanding at the end of the course had given them a new confidence in their administrative work as a whole, but had modified their attitudes to the use of administrative power. Several ex-trainees commented upon the enthusiastic way in which the teachers had approached their task, but there were also a number of expressions of criticism and frustration. Many ex-trainees considered that the course had been too short, too crowded with a multitude of subjects, and substantially indigestible. Some felt that there should have been specialisation within the course on either rural or urban subjects, but others insisted on the need for generalist training at the present time. Several ex-trainees felt that they had studied hard to pass an examination, but had tended to revert to their old ways after the course was over. Quite frequently they had experienced a clash between the principles taught on the course and the practices of their immediate superiors. Some ex-trainees complained that they had been given no clear duties after the course was over, and that this had reduced both their job satisfaction and their opportunity to consolidate what they had learnt under training. Others were pessimistic about the effectiveness of training in a situation where law and practice were in a state of flux, and where there were no clear strategies or sources of finance upon which practical development administration could be established. Once again it is interesting that the criticisms were directed more against the total working environment than against particular components of the Juba training programme. Several of these comments are standard ones which arise whenever junior officers are given short courses within a rapidly changing political situation.

Many of those who had been less successful during their training at Juba considered that the whole training programme had been just too wide-ranging and difficult for them, and had proceeded at too fast a pace. Some admitted that the range of subjects covered was in fact the range of subjects that they had to deal with in their work, and came close to accepting that the job of administrative officer was beyond them. On the other hand, other officers in this category argued that their work as junior administrators (particularly in urban areas) was quite narrow in practice, relating almost exclusively to the collection of tax. In these circumstances it would have been better if the course had concentrated on such practical issues as the collection of market fees and other dues. These comments may reveal more about the inadequacies of the junior administrators who made them than about inadequacies in the training programme, but they also suggest that the training programme itself was beyond the capabilities of some of those who were nominated to attend it. There was, however, considerable appreciation expressed even by those course members whose performance was below average. Almost all those in this category who were interviewed considered that they were putting into practice what they had learnt on the course. Some felt they were doing this subconsciously and thus were unable to point to particular examples of the way in which this was happening. Others said they were managing their time better, were practising delegation, were more competent in tackling routine office work and in problems of Council management. They felt a generally increased confidence in dealing with members of the public, and one ex-trainee put it bluntly when he said he now felt

able to handle jobs 'without fear'. Whilst the training obviously did not transform weak officers into strong ones, there were definite indications that even the weaker staff had learnt to make fuller use of their latent abilities as a result of the training they received at Juba.

Conclusions on the Juba Training Programme

Discussions with a broad cross-section of staff, combined with the visits made to a number of administrative offices throughout the Southern Sudan, made it clear that the cadre of junior administrative officers (for whom the Juba training programme was designed) is required to cover a very broad spectrum of duties. Many are generalists, with a mainly regulatory function combined with the role of a change agent. This is particularly true in the more remote rural areas. On the other hand, junior officers in urban areas are often pursuing a very narrow range of duties which usually revolve around tax collection. They are called upon to have a much deeper and more precise knowledge of certain laws and financial regulations, whilst problems of development planning are extraneous to their normal duties. In these circumstances the Juba course had the ambitious objective of trying to be 'all things to all men'. Not only was the available time extremely short for the wide range of topics to be covered, but the trainees themselves were not an entirely homogeneous group. Although they had all been recruited at the same time to the same grade in the same Ministry, they were diverse in terms of background experience and operational responsibilities. As such it is extremely easy to criticise the course, and less easy to suggest what alternative strategies might have been adopted. The Ministry of Regional Administration quite deliberately chose to provide common-syllabus courses for three successive years in order to give standardised training to the large and disparate group of junior administrative officers that it had inherited from the Peace Agreement of 1972. It sought to transmit a general body of knowledge to the whole group, to test them by the same criteria, to identify those capable of taking on heavier responsibility, and those incapable of handling their existing responsibility. The Ministry sought to improve performance across a wide range of duties, and lay the foundations for the more ambitious development administration which it hoped might become possible in the near future. This was the course of action which the Ministry judged was necessary, and it is greatly to the credit of the Birmingham team that they were willing to enter into this high-risk partnership – for the risk of not attempting this staff development programme would have been the disintegration of the whole administrative infrastructure in the Southern Sudan.

The programme had a number of shortcomings. With hindsight it is possible to suggest that there should have been less emphasis on development planning and more emphasis on routine administrative skills. It is also possible to suggest that fewer topics should have been taught rather more slowly, in order to consolidate a smaller basic core of knowledge. Similarly it might have been better to separate the tasks of training and 'deselection', building in a greater degree of flexibility within the programme so that the third year of training could have been switched away from the small remaining group of junior administrators and used for a new Council Management Course which the Ministry of Regional Administration

regarded as a matter of high priority by 1977. Nevertheless, the programme has given a broad-ranging boost to the competence and confidence of an administration under considerable stress. It was suggested by the Deputy Representative of the British Council in Khartoum that the Birmingham contribution to the Juba training programme may well have been the most cost-effective contribution that British aid has made to the Southern Sudan in recent years.

Future Training Needs

Even a fleeting visit to a cross-section of Government offices in the Southern Sudan reveals one of the most serious legacies of seventeen years of civil war – the missing generation of middle-level administrators, professionals and technical officers. Only the passing of several decades will overcome this serious problem, for the present generation of junior officers will go through their careers devoid of the practical on-the-job training that the missing generation would normally have provided. There is a widespread hope in the Regional Government that this long-term problem can be alleviated by the substantial recruitment of well qualified school leavers and graduates, but the latest data on school, college and university output trends is somewhat discouraging. In 1977 Dr Robin Mills, of the Manpower Unit in the Regional Ministry of Public Service, produced a paper entitled *Present Day Manpower Demand and Supply in the Public Sector of the Southern Region of the Sudan* which concluded that:

> For some considerable time to come the educational system is not going to provide sufficient numbers of qualified and skilled manpower . . . The total production of graduate and diploma level Southern manpower in the next four to five years will not fill the vacancies existing in 1976, let alone the posts to be created in the Six-Year Plan.

The administrative manpower requirements of the Ministry of Regional Administration are clearly of prime importance to the region, particularly as regards the co-ordinating function relating to development initiatives. Nevertheless, there appears to be a genuine uncertainty even about the actual numbers of staff currently in post. The latter point may appear rather surprising, but shortages of personnel at the Ministry Headquarters together with the disruption caused by creating three new Provinces in the very recent past, have produced a situation where authoritative information is hard to obtain and the records available within the Ministry Headquarters are not entirely reliable. Bearing in mind that there will continue to be pressures brought to bear upon the system of personnel records by continuing recruitment of junior administrative staff, inter-provincial posting, the secondment of staff for service with the Sudan Socialist Union, and the mobility caused by an ambitious programme of staff training, it would be worth introducing a more comprehensive and flexible system of recording and displaying the number of established administrative posts, the actual whereabouts of officers in posts, the training situation, the number of vacancies, and the action being taken to fill vacancies.

One senior official in Khartoum, who was deeply involved in public administration training, suggested that the real training needs in the South could only be met if much more time and effort were put into analysing the actual needs themselves.

Whilst the long-term macro-level needs of the public service at large are being studied by the Ministry of Public Service, and the short-term micro-level training requirements in the Ministry of Regional Administration are being tackled by an active programme of courses, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive correlation of information on manpower trends and training programmes.

Options and Priorities for Future Assistance

One problem facing the South is knowing how the Regional Government should relate to the very many different national training institutes and academies that are based in Khartoum. Even in the South there are incipient problems of a similar nature which will have to be resolved. The Ministry of Regional Administration (the only Ministry in the Southern Region which has a Training Officer) is pressing ahead with its own programmes to meet the training requirements of its own staff. Meanwhile the Ministry of Co-operatives and Rural Development has established a new Rural Development Institute at Amadi, which is approximately one day's drive to the south-west of Juba. The Ministry of Public Service and Administrative Reform has plans to expand its existing Multi-Service Training Centre and to establish a Regional Institute of Public Administration with a semi-autonomous status, whilst the new University of Juba has ambitious development plans which will inevitably impinge upon public service training.

Bearing in mind this institutional complexity, the uncertainty regarding future plans, the general state of flux in which the Regional Administration finds itself at the present time and the pressures which inevitably tend to relegate long-range training plans to a position of low priority, the clarification of options and priorities for future outside assistance is no easy matter. The presentation of any externally designed package could well be counter-productive, as the Regional Government will only be fully committed to training schemes that it has worked out for itself. What is required is agreement to certain general types of assistance, the details of which can then be worked out by and with the Regional Government according to training priorities as they perceive them initially, and as they will have to keep redefining them under the fluid conditions of the next few years.

The adequate strengthening of the administration in the Southern Sudan is not something that can be achieved by a few crash training programmes during a limited period. Emergency measures have been necessary and have been provided. They have avoided a breakdown during a period of extreme stress, and they have provided a foundation upon which to build the long road to recovery and reconstruction. Senior politicians, local professionals and foreign technical assistance personnel are unanimous in recognising that a competent administration is required to maintain services and to support the new development initiatives. What is now required is the design and installation of long-term training resources capable of providing sustained and diverse training support to the Regional Government during an era of consolidation and accelerated development. The Regional Government has already incorporated in the draft of its forthcoming Development Plan a proposal for the establishment of a Regional Institute of Public Administration in Juba. During the evaluation mission, widespread support was discovered for this

idea. A permanent institution, adequately equipped and staffed, would provide the springboard for specialised and long-term training that must follow the 'first-aid' training programmes of recent years. In discussions with Sayed Donato Jubai, Director of the Ministry of Public Service and Administrative Reform in Juba, it was emphasised that this project is a matter of very high priority and one for which techical assistance support would be much appreciated. The scheme is a practical one, envisaging an immediate exploitation of existing facilities at the Multi-Service Training Centre with a phased build-up of additional staff, accommodation, housing, and equipment as soon as possible. It could provide a steadily-increasing capacity for practical training, and might eventually develop even more fully in association with the new University of Juba.

Land policies for urban and national development in Nigeria

ADEMOLA TOKUNBOH SALAU*

Nigeria, like many other developing nations, has been experiencing a tremendous increase in the rate of urbanization. This 'urban explosion' has brought along with it many problems which run the whole gamut from deterioration and shortage of housing to overcrowded and inadequate transportation, health and educational facilities. The Committee on the Location of the Federal Capital of Nigeria asserted in 1976 that Lagos was '. . . one of the dirtiest capitals of the world. . . .' However, in bemoaning the ill effects of rapid urban growth, the contribution of the use, ownership and marketing of land to the problems is often de-emphasized. The contention here is that the deplorable state of many Nigerian cities is in major part due to the ineffectiveness or lack of urban land development control. Comparative study of urban land problems in many countries demonstrates the relationship between urban development and land.[1] The Federal Government of Nigeria recently commissioned a Land Use Panel** to undertake a thorough review of the various land tenure, land use and land conservation practices in Nigeria and to examine steps necessary for controlling future land use. Perhaps the major task facing this Panel is how to resolve the basic issue of land tenure systems in the country. The purpose of this paper is to examine the land use problems, land ownership and the issues involved in the formulation of land policies for Nigeria.

The Concept of Land Reform

Land is, perhaps, mankind's most basic natural resource. Its use therefore demands extreme care. Land once developed cannot normally be returned to its virgin condition; major facilities, once constructed, may effectively pre-empt reservoir sites; decisions concerning transportation or utilities systems provide the controlling parameters to new growth patterns. These decisions are essentially 'irreversible'[2] and their full impact may not become evident for decades but they are critical in determining the physical growth patterns of a community.

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*Mr Salau, a former Town Planning officer for the North-Western State of Nigeria is now conducting research for a doctoral degree in Urban Planning at Rutgers University, New Jersey, USA.

[1]Abrams, C., 'Urban Land Problems and Policies' *Housing, Town and Country Planning* (New York, United Nations, 1953).

****Established in April 1977 under the leadership of Mr Justice Idige* (Ed).

[2]Ciriciay-Wantrup, S. V., *Resource Conservation: Economics and Policies* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952).

Gottman warns us thus:

> . . . land use patterns, which have been and still are changing rapidly in Megalopolis, cannot be determined or administered according to simple formulas dealing with location density of occupation, or immediate profits to be earned. Many forces and principles are at play that cannot be quantified. . . .[1]

A United Nations publication noted that:

> Several reasons make it imperative for African countries to adopt urban land policies. First, with cities growing at the fastest rates ever recorded in the present century, the scramble for urban land among various competing land uses has intensified. This scramble is giving rise to poor land management, misuse and abuse of land. Indeed, the scramble would not be necessary if there were an urban land market to regulate land distribution. The structure of land markets, however, is burdened with customary landholding practices, urban land prices have been so inflated that over fifty percent of urban families cannot afford to buy plots, let alone shelters. No doubt, there is no easy way to regulate the urban land and to control land use without an urban land policy.[2]

The need for a land policy is unquestioned, the bone of contention is on the nature of such a policy. For example, 'land reform' has become a catch-all phrase of many people and has been bandied about to the extent that a resolution was adopted by the United Nations as early as September 1951 recommending 'that governments institute appropriate land reforms in the interest of landless farmers and those with small and medium-sized holdings.'[3] However, there is no consensus on the meaning of 'land reform'. It can be a part of agricultural or social policy. The World Bank defines it thus:

> Land reform involves intervention in the prevailing pattern of land ownership, control and usage in order to change the structure of holdings, improve land productivity and broaden the distribution of benefits . . . by its very context, has interlinked political, economic and social dimensions which in turn have significant implications for development.[4]

Land reform, viewed this way, transcends the problem of land and its use and goes to the issue of power relationship in society. It is therefore not surprising that the political ideologies of governments have a great bearing on the formulation of land policy and the type of land reform favoured.

Land Tenure System in Nigeria

In Nigeria, more than 70 percent of the labour force is associated with the agricultural sector. Land therefore constitutes a major asset. However, the importance of land goes beyond its agricultural use, especially in a period of rapid urbanization and economic growth.

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[1]Gottman, J., *Megalopolis* (New York, The 20th Century Fund, 1961), p 445.

[2]United Nations, *Urban Land Policies and Land Use Control Measures, Vol. I, Africa* (New York, 1973), pp 1–2.

[3]United Nations, *Progress in Land Reform* (New York, UN Dept of Economic Affairs, 1954), p iii.

[4]World Bank, *Land Reform, Sector Policy Paper* (Washington, DC, May 1975), p 5.

According to Uchendu,

> The status of an economy at a given period is a major determinant of the 'content' of its land tenure. Whatever the body of rules regulating the acquisition and the use of rights in land, the dynamics of an economy at a given period of time tend to modify these rules. However, relics of old 'ideologies' and formal 'rules of tenure' tend to persist long after an economy has effected changes in the content of its tenure arrangements.[1]

It is the persistence of these relics of the 'formal rules of tenure' that play a major role in land use problems. For example, there is a confusion in the land market in Nigeria which is aggravated by the lack of a common standard or uniformity in the property laws and land tenure system. All lands in the northern states are vested in the public authorities (usually local governments) but this is not the case in the southern states where customary land tenure system still operates. Under the customary land tenure, the land belongs to the corporate bodies (the town, village, the patrilineal group or the extended family in their capacity as property-owning groups. The rights of the group are considered far superior to those of individuals. Included in the group are all adult males of a community who have full legal capacity of owning and enjoying the appropriate parcels of land permitted by their respective customs and traditions. In some areas, women have access only to limited acquisition and enjoyment of certain categories of property rights. A person who is not a member by birth of a village is also to a great extent excluded from land rights in that village. Another group of landowners are the 'supernatural persons'. These are the numerous deities, ancestral spirits, certain types of secret societies and oracles which own land in many parts of Nigeria.[2] Alienation of interests in land, particularly in return for cash payment, is prohibited under this customary land tenure system. However, alienation of rights in land in the forms of gifts among living persons, pledging, short-term borrowing, long-term borrowing or leasing and outright sale of interest has long become common due to the great demand for more land created by the accelerating economic growth.

It was the advent of the colonial rule which brought the introduction of a Western concept of property and this resulted in a dual system of land rights. 'Conveyances' patterned after the English legal system were drawn up to mark transactions which were then registrable with government.[3] The acquisition of land through this process, however, has not ameliorated the problem of land ownership.

There is an exceptional range of population density in the country from the sparsely or virtually uninhabited areas in the north and the middle belt to the densely populated parts of the eastern states. As against the country's average density of 156 persons per square mile, Lagos has about 1000 persons and density of over

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[1]Uchendu, V. C., 'The Impact of Changing Agricultural Technology on African Land Tenure' (*The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol 4, July 1970), p 479.

[2]Mba, L., 'Land Use in Nigeria' (Lagos, *Business Times*, 21 June 1977), p 23.

[3]Famoriyo, S., 'Land Transactions and Agricultural Development in Nigeria' (*East Africa Journal of Rural Development*, Vol 7, Nos 1 and 2, 1974).

700 persons per square mile is common in Imo and Anambra states.[1] Under this situation, it is incumbent upon the government to ameliorate the coexistence of land-surplus and land-deficit economies within the same country. Therefore, the core issue is one of 'access': citizens from the land scarce areas must be given the opportunity of making use of extensive unused tracts of land in other parts of the country with surplus land. If the fears are that migrants, by taking over land, may come to deprive the local people permanently of land regarded as theirs, then legislation must be enacted giving the migrants long-term guaranteed tenure.

The most difficult and politically sensitive issue is how to make available part of the 'surplus' land in the North to the other citizens from land-scarce areas of the country. As a matter of fact, Professor Mabogunje had once contended that '. . . in reality there is no surplus land in Nigeria. Every acre of land in the country is owned by families and is used by them within the context of their needs and technical capabilities. Any attempt, therefore, to make extensive unused land available to other than their traditional owners requires considerable prior investigation and planning'. (See 'Regional Planning and the Development Process in 1970–74 Plan' in Barbour, K. M. (Ed), *Planning for Nigeria* (Ibadan, University of Ibadan Press, 1972, p 8.)) However, what is being proposed here is one of 'accessibility' not ownership whereby 'surplus' land is opened for the possible use of those who require it. Two obstacles to this proposal are the possible reluctance of people from the land-scarce areas in the South to settle and farm in the North and reluctance of Northerners to allow this. It is unfortunate that freedom of movement could be curtailed through the apparent distrust or enmity existing among certain ethnic groups. However, it behoves the government to enact legislation which will make for easy flow of factors of production and people across the whole nation.

The Land Question and Its Relationship to Planning

The relationship between land and planning is a very critical one. Direct guidance of land use patterns is a major tool of planning but the confusion in the land market has meant that an effective use of this most important instrument is diminished in Nigeria. Urban policy problems boil down to the difficulty of harmonizing variant values (property rights and a satisfactory urban environment). To meet the exigencies of development requiring quick decisions on land use and transactions, measures to control and regulate land use and streamline land holding procedures are deemed indispensable. Land policy therefore must also form a very important integral part of a national development policy. Nigeria found out the implications of this lack of land policy during the implementation of its national development plan. In the Third National Development Plan, the lessons learned were that:

> Government requires land on increasing scale for its development projects. . . . Although legislation exists empowering government to acquire land compulsorily for public purposes, it has become difficult to do so at reasonable cost in some of Nigeria's urban centers. Several projects in the Second Development Plan have failed to take off because of the difficulty of

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[1]Ajaegbu, H. I., *Urban and Rural Development in Nigeria* (London, Heinemann, 1976), p 13.

obtaining land in major urban centers. Even where land is readily available, the price is often prohibitive.[1]

Most of Nigeria's urban centres now suffer from inadequate and deteriorating housing and here the role of land as a causal factor of housing problems becomes very obvious and takes many forms. The high cost of land is the most obvious obstacle in the process of building a house. In many of these urban centres, especially in the southern part of the country, the cost of plots of land is beyond the reach of the majority of people. Land prices spiral in most cities which are in turn the result of land speculation. Land speculation reduces the ability of poor urban residents and migrants to buy land for building purposes and this in turn leads to overcrowding and the development of squatter settlements and slums in the urban areas.

The clouded and virtually unmarketable land titles resulting from the customary land tenure system is also a factor in the growing bottlenecks in urban land development. Potential land developers and individual purchasers of plots are sometimes confronted with the problem of identifying the real owner of the land. It is not uncommon for four individuals to lay claim at the same time to the same plot of land. The notable housing expert, Charles Abrams, recognized that some of the land problems in developing nations are due to many factors.[2] Among these, which are readily applicable to Nigeria, are the following:

1 'A low or no tax on land.' The use of property taxation has been very limited in Nigeria where the system of property valuation is based on a 1916 Ordinance whereby property rates are based on annual value, defined as the '. . . rent at which tenement (building) might reasonably be expected to let, under the assumption that the tenant pays the rates and taxes and the landlord pays the cost of repairs and insurance.'[3] However, unimproved land is not taxed but no effort is made to remove the site-value element from rents charged for buildings. The low tax and non-imposition of taxes on vacant land has made it possible for land to be withheld from use and this has contributed greatly to the persistence of lineage ownership of land in many parts of Nigeria.

2 'Excessive concentration of ownership of land abounds in many places.' Under a customary land tenure system, certain families or corporate bodies may lay claim to a very extensive tract of land and thereby effectively deprive individuals not belonging to such bodies the use or access thereto.

3 'There is a paucity of alternative investments in the developing nations.' In a society like that of Nigeria where people are not well informed about the few avenues of investment opportunites available, land continues to be the most accessible and only safe form of investment.

In view of the critical importance of land in planning, many measures have been

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[1]Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Third National Development Plan*, 1975–80 (Lagos, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1975), p 293.

[2]Abrams, C., *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World* (Cambridge, Mass, M. I. T. Press, 1964). [3]

[3]Due, J. F., 'Taxation of Property in Developing Economies: The African Experience' (*Land Economies*, Vol 39 (1), 1963), pp 1–14.

designed and are being used by many governments to influence urban growth patterns. The most common of these are:

1 legal regulation of location decisions through either building or sub-division permit procedures;

2 identification of zones for specified types of development or special zones where simplified public acquisition procedures or easements apply;

3 layout of public infrastructure in patterns contemplated to influence future land use and private construction.[1]

The most common and powerful land use regulatory measures are of two types. One is by controlling the rate of land development through compulsory acquisition of land which can then be leased out in accordance with planned urban development. The other measure is through a system of incentives and disincentives, such as real estate taxes. Real Estate taxation[2] can serve two major purposes:

1 to encourage optimum development and restrain speculation, and
2 to secure for the public a share of the increase in land values due to public investment in community facilities.[2A]

Towards a Land Policy for Nigeria

Land use policy can be interpreted in two different ways.[3] In its narrowest connotation, this means a plan for allocating surface space to a variety of uses as decided by policy makers. However, in a broad interpretation, land use policy not only implies answering questions about the configuration and location of surface uses and structures but also questions relative to environment, national welfare, and employment policy, and even questions about the whole national system of Values. A land use policy that follows only the narrowest interpretation cannot but be a sham.

Land use policy must be comprehensive and inclusive of such areas as agriculture, recreation, transportation, urban and industrial development. It must also form a part of the process of coping with population growth and distribution and the preservation of natural and historical sites. Land use policy must be an end product

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[1]Walsh, A. H., *The Urban Challenge to Government* (New York, Praeger, 1969), p 212.

[2]Real Estate taxation has not been utilized very effectively in Nigeria. Many landed properties are not taxed either because of their being owned by influential citizens or they are taxed so low due to improper practices by some assessors. Perhaps more important is the difficulty of valuation itself. The success of any system of taxation depends to a great degree upon the methods and efficient assessment of properties. Most Nigerian cities do not even undertake the regular revision and updating of property valuations. In order to curb the speculation in land, different systems of taxation of land and improvements on the land with vacant land being taxed at rates substantially higher than the improvements have also been regarded as very helpful.

[2A]United Nations, *Urban Land Policies and Land Use Control Measures*, *op cit*, p 43.

[3]Hillman, J. S. and Martin, W. E., 'Elements of a National Land Use Policy' (*Journal of Soil and Water Conservation*, Vol 27 (5), 1972), p 211.

of the following three sequential steps:[1] The first step is a statement of goals and the rationale for the land use policy. The goals should provide the ends sought in improving the use of land and should also be analysed in terms of other national goals such as economic growth, employment and income distribution. It is inevitable that there must be trade-offs in this process of reconciliation. The second step involves the establishment of criteria for classifying land according to the uses for which it is suited. This will require the accumulation of extensive amounts of physical data such as soil types, slopes etc. This second step is more or less an inventory-taking process which is *sorely* needed in most developing nations. There must be knowledge of what exists before planning can take place. The third step is the dilineation of an organizational structure and the delegation of responsibilities and authorities for administering the land use policy.

Increasing rate or urbanization entails the conversion of rural land to an urban use and with it an inevitable rise in the price of that land. Therefore it is almost impossible to achieve effective planning without adequate control on the use and ownership of land. The regulation of land use is very ineffective in Nigeria. The common regulatory measure being utilized is the 'building control' or the approval of plans for houses prior to construction. This measure is designed to check the location of the building relative to the major streets but even this mild measure is not always implemented. There are many regulatory measures like zoning and subdivision regulations not being utilized at all in most Nigerian cities. Therefore any land policies must incorporate these measures in addition to streamlining the tenurial system. These land policies must be formulated at the national level since the issues involve basic social values and constitutional doctrine. However, in order to formulate an effective and sound land policy, there must be a clarity of what the objectives are. The objectives may include one or all of the following:

the achievement of a greater equity in land distribution and ownership;
to change the patterns of land distribution and size of land holdings;
to achieve changes in the conditions of tenure without changes of ownership;
to increase the supply of land for future public uses and development purposes;
to influence the use of land so as to conform to a master plan.

These objectives will determine the nature of the land policies which are adopted.

There are many issues to which land policy must be addressed. Perhaps the most important issue is what form the role of government should take. There is now a universal consensus that the overriding social function of land usage justifies the imposition of limitations on private rights. Therefore the means to control the rate of inflation in land prices must now be sought through appropriate tax measures. Taxes on land could be another way of raising much needed revenues given the limited resources of most local governments in Nigeria. Another limitation on property right is the exercise of an eminent domain whereby the government

[1]Mendell, F. H., 'Developing a State Land Use Policy' (*Journal of Soil and Water Conservation*, Vol 25 (5), 1972), p 194.

assumes ownership of private land for the benefit of the community, and compensation is paid to the owner. The exercise of this regulation has often been frustrated, especially in cities like Lagos and Ibadan through lengthy litigation in the courts. The major task here is to ensure that increases in land Values resulting from public action revert to the public and not to individual owners. If governments are required to pay for the increase in value resulting from public investment and change of use as designated in physical plans, the effectiveness of this measure is considerably lessened.

Another regulation rarely used in Nigeria is the exercise of 'police power' whereby the government can limit the exercise of property rights without compensation if the health, safety and general public welfare is enhanced thereby. One other effective measure of controlling land use is the creation of public land banks by the acquisition of vacant land through open market or eminent domain procedures.

Land banking, as a management tool and as a means to increase public access to urban land, arrests undesirable development and ensures a cheap supply of land for public uses.

There is a multiplicity of government agencies dealing with decisions on land usage and the lack of coordination between them is a major obstacle which needs rectification. In this instance, the creation of a new Federal Ministry of Housing, Urban Development and Environment is a good step in the right direction. This new ministry should be made responsible for overall coordination with the identification and execution of specific problems and programmes being left for decision at the state level.

The major task in formulating policy is to bring each level of government into the different stages – planning, programming and implementation of land use policy. Functions and responsibilities must be allocated among local, state and federal governments. A potential limiting factor to any implementation of a national land use policy is the ineffectiveness of most local governments in Nigeria. Many of the local authorities may be unable to participate effectively in the national land use planning because of their lack of professional staff and inadequate resources. In this regard, the local government units must be strengthened. They should be given the authority to enforce land use consistent with the national plan. They should also have enough power to enact and enforce ordinances and to coordinate their implementation with other local authorities.

Conclusion

In the process of accelerated urbanization and rapid economic growths, large sections of rural land will continue to be transformed to industrial and other urban uses. Therefore, there is an urgent need for national land policies that could help guide this transition into desired channels. These policies must be accompanied by the enactment of requisite legislation and the adoption of necessary regulatory measures. Against the enormous land use problems and the existing confusion in the land market, the adoption of a comprehensive land policy is long overdue in Nigeria.

Attitudes to Urban Planning*

PATRICK I. WAKELY**

'Development planning is understood as an integrated and continuous process of analysis, synthesis and programming for the achievement of a higher standard of life, social welfare and the transformation of the physical environment through the optimum use of the resources available in a place or a region. . . . The plan is a formula that is flexible, but concrete enough to become a programme for action.'[1]

Planning is a continuous *process* of co-ordinated short term actions within the framework of a guiding policy. The context of the activity of physical planning is the constantly changing, and to a large extent, unpredictable condition and aspiration of the population. Central to the process of planning is an understanding of the potential inherent in the physical, financial and human resources of their city or region. This understanding should be positive and exploitative in the sense of looking for potentials. However, much current planning fails in this fundamental question of attitude. Emphasis is more frequently laid upon constraints, not upon resources; on problems not on potentials. Urban planning is seen as a process of control not as a process of promotion.

Despite the extensive development in urban and regional planning techniques and practice over the last fifty years, many of these current attitudes stem directly from Patrick Geddes, the father of modern physical planning.[2] Furthermore, they stem, to a very large extent, from misunderstandings of Geddes who, as a biologist by training, was well aware of the dynamics of organisms, amongst which, as a planner, he classified cities. He brought to the vocabulary of planning many terms, still familiar, such as nucleus, cell and circulation. He was the first to articulate the

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[1]La Planificacion en Bogota (p 31), Departimento de Planificacion Distrital Bogota (1964).

[2]Geddes, P., *Cities in Evolution*, Edinburgh 1915. (Revised edition edited by Tyrwhitt, J., London, 1949).

importance of the consideration, in urban planning, of the 'ecological context' of the city within a region and the integration of urban and region planning as opposed to the previously-separated views of town and country. But it is Geddes' concept of 'conservative surgery', progressive as it was in the first quarter of this century, that is responsible for much modern 'problem oriented' control planning as opposed to 'potential oriented' promotion planning. Geddes' work both in England and in India was in a context of relative demographic and economic stability by comparison to the rates of change that characterise the dynamics of Latin American cities fifty years later. And his concept of 'conservative surgery' in urban renewal should be understood as a realistic reaction to the cries of doom of the urban reformers and the dreams of the utopianists of late nineteenth century Europe, rather than setting the attitudes for a generation of planners whose problems could not be predicted. However to pursue the surgical analogy, the concepts of conservative surgery have become deeply ingrained in physical planning practice, leaving little room for the more creative initiatives offered by preventive medicine. The eradication and control of existing disease, important as it is, seems to consume a disproportional amount of current planning effort at the expense of planning for a more healthy body in the future. But the most influential of Geddes' teachings in physical planning is summed up in his dictum 'survey before plan'.

The importance of understanding the conditions of the existing situation can not be challenged as the starting point in any planning process. However the emphasis given to exhaustive planning surveys before any proposals are made or action taken, has led to a fundamental failure in much planning activity. It has been the basis of the static masterplan concept in which planning is seen as a one-off event for the production of norms by which urban development will be controlled. Such norms result from the analysis of conditions at the time of plan making and are generally framed as a series of standards that it is believed will prevent the reoccurence of the problems revealed by the survey. Events have proved this belief to be unjustified. The dynamics of urban growth, changing political and social aspirations and economic fluctuations in both public and private sectors cannot be catered for by static standards of land use, housing, transport and infrastructure. It is hardly surprising that so many new and costly masterplans have had to be prepared over the last three decades in response to changing conditions and technology and in an attempt to provide for and to control urban development that has inevitably ignored the norms laid down by the previous plan.[1]

Perhaps the most spectacular manifestation of the failure of traditional planning approaches in Latin America is in their attempt to *control* private sector initiative, though this has formed the very basis of urban planning policies. Witness to this

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[1]In the last 25 years Bogota has had five major planning studies:
1951, Metropolitan Plan
1957, Pilot Plan
1961, Land Use Zoning and Traffic Plan
1964, Study of Alternative Growth Strategies
1972, Development Plan

are the *barrios piratas, invasiones and inquilinatos* which often house the domestic and commercial activities of 50 percent or more of a city's population in conditions and locations which take account of the established norms of urban development.

A basic characteristic of a market economy is the competition between the aspirations and plans of competing private sector interest groups in the society. If the public sector is unable to control the physical manifestation of this initiative through planning, what is planning in a capitalist state? This is a much debated question, an answer to which may lie in Otto Koenigsberger's concept of Action Planning.[1]

The foundations of Action Planning are underpinned by two fundamental principles:

a Public sector urban and regional planning should be promotional and should anticipate, lead and steer private sector investment rather than follow and attempt to control private initiative.

b Planning must be a continuous process, flexible enough to be able to respond to the continuously changing physical, social, economic and political structure of the society, but within the guidelines of a consistent policy.

The implications of these principles are perhaps best discussed by outlining the procedures for the establishment of an Action Planning programme. The first stage is the determination of a coherent policy for urban and regional planning and the formulation of a structure plan for physical development. The former is obviously very largely conditioned by the dictates of the national and regional political structure but it must allow for the operation of a flexible promotional planning system. This may well demand changes in traditional attitudes to public sector entrepreneurship and, as is discussed below, changes in the structure of public administration and decision making. The formulation of a physical structure plan should provide guidelines for the use of land and basic norms for priorities in public investment. It should result from a reconnaissance survey of the role of the city in a regional or national context and of gross projections of its growth. It should outline the dominant constraints and potentials that at the time seem likely to determine the pattern of development and set out a series of alternative strategies as a guide for the formulation of programmes for action. Each alternative structure plan strategy should include a commentary on its apparent costs and benefits. Though one such strategy alternative will constitute the preferred line of action to be pursued, this may well change or have to be modified over time calling for a review of its original intentions.

The reconnaissance survey upon which policy goals and a guiding structure are based should not be confused with the traditional, lengthy pre-planning survey. There is one overriding difference. A reconnaissance survey is a short review of

[1] Koenigsberger, O. H., 'Action Planning', *Architectural Association Journal* (London, May 1964).

existing information and experience. To many physical planners steeped in the traditions of their profession, this may seem somewhat heretical. But they should be reminded of the basic differences between a flexible though guiding structure plan and the intentions of a classical masterplan. They will not have to be reminded of the length of time required for a complete urban planning survey and the lag-time this represents before action can be taken, often running to several years. In the meantime urban growth and development continues[1] and survey data becomes obsolete before it is used. However a central part of the Action Planning process is the establishment of a continuous monitoring or surveillance mechanism. This is essential for the maintenance of a constantly up-to-date data bank through which the planners can be kept informed not only of 'external' changes in the city structure (due to changing rates of growth, changing social demands, changing economic conditions, etc.) but also of 'internal' changes brought about by the results of planning action itself. Without such a sensing centre there is little chance of this approach to physical planning being any more successful than its predecessors; there is little chance of planning activity being a continuous public sector entrepreneurial process leading private sector investment in some form of partnership. The constant surveillance process is the tool with which the results of action can be measured and modifications made in projects, programmes or the structure plan itself. It is the tool by which the public sector can gauge the pulse of the city and, hopefully remain one step ahead of changing demands and aspirations in order to maintain its leadership role over private initiative.

The design of programmes and projects within the structure plan will obviously entail many different approaches with different levels of operation. A small housing project requires a different level and type of investment and a different length of construction time than, say, the renewal of an urban water supply system. The design of projects such as those within a housing programme should be firmly based not only on the perceived needs but also on the established demands of the users. This requires a level of communication between public and private sectors rarely found at the moment but, possible with an efficient surveillance system. The briefs for planning and design action should be framed as a series of performance specifications which form the basis of planning and building regulations or byelaws. Such regulations are customarily set down as finite standards which stipulate within narrow limits not only 'what has to be done' but also by implication 'how it should be done'. Such standards, unless constantly reviewed and modified, which they rarely are, cannot respond to changes in physical conditions or to technological innovation and thus frequently become the source of inefficiencies in the development process or are ignored. Rephrased as specifications of perform-

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[1]Pereira with an estimated 1975 population of 261,000 and a growth rate of 5.1% p.a. will increase this year by 13,000 people or 2,150 new households (average size 6 members) which is 42 new households per week.
Bogota with an estimated 1975 population of 3,610,000 and a growth rate of 7.2% p.a. is increasing by 49,000 new average households of 5.3 members per year or 950 new households per week.
(I.C.T., Vivienda y Desarollo Urbana, Estadisticas Generales, Nov. 1969).

ance to be met, the intentions of planning and building norms are articulated but the maximum freedom is allowed for design initiative and the introduction of new technology. Care should be taken in the preparation of performance specifications to ensure that they are realistic and achievable. If they are not, they will be ignored and therefore of no value as guides to development.

Many planning reports of the past have contained the findings of extensive, though static, surveys revealing inadequacies in the existing urban structure as well as plans for future development. But the latter often seem to bear little identifiable relation to an analysis of the survey findings. A coherent set of performance specifications that cover the demands for services and amenities as well as the needs of health and safety of all sections of the population forms the essential link between survey and plan; between what there is and what there should be; between proposals and how to implement them.

Who is to make planning proposals and who is to implement them? Traditionally there is a wide gap between the planners, be they outside consultants or a department of local government, and those whose responsibility it is to implement planning decisions. Furthermore there are often considerable gaps in communication, if not lack of co-operation between the separated branches of urban administration. This has, in the past led to a sectorial approach to planning and more particularly to plan implementation. Examples exist of the location and construction of housing estates unserviced by adequate transport or without facilities for primary education. Water supply studies have been made without consideration of the capacity of the drainage system. And so on. At another level, it is not infrequent that newly paved roads have to be excavated and resurfaced several times for the installation of different services, purely as the result of failures in communication and co-ordination between different sectors of the public administration.

If planning is a continuous series of actions, reactions and modifications centered around a permanent monitoring system, the planners for the future and the executives of today must form one very closely knit group. As any new action is bound to effect the existing system in many different ways, and as disparities in the existing system are the reason for new action, it is hard to justify any separation between the activities of planning for the future and administering the present. Similarly if planning is the basis for a series of integrated actions in anticipation of, or in response to public needs and demands, it is hard to justify a compartmentalised administration of different technical sectors at the level of decision making. Thus planning should be done by, or in very close co-operation with those responsible for its implementation. Obviously this entails several different professionals and technologists using different profressional 'languages' but their concerns must be unified in the inter-disciplinary activity of planning and plan implementation. Each should be a party to the decisions of each other, thus gaining an understanding of the total problem of urban development, as opposed to but one aspect of it. However within such a structure, specific roles with definite responsibilities should be unambiguously cast. Group decision making or 'planning by committee' breaks down when individual responsibilities within it are ill-defined.

It might be interpreted from this that there is no place in an Action Planning process for the professional planner or for independent planning consultants. This is not the case, though the role of professional planners in the process needs close examination. Planning is a part of the discipline of 'rational design' (together with engineering, architecture and industrial design). As such a planner is a technologist in systems of analysis and creative synthesis. This description of a planner implies an impartial professional. However, 'a planner' should not be confused with the 'act of planning' which is inevitably far from impartial and cannot fail to respond to the political pressures of different interest groups over others. This partiality is present in the whole process of planning but is of particular significance in the stages of decision making when specific courses of action are selected for implementation, be they at the level of policy, programme or project.

As a technologist the planner is equipped with analytical tools that may not be available to the administrators of urban government. Being outside the specific problems of the management of various sectors of urban administration, he may be in a better position to synthesise the role of each in alternative courses of action. However because of this detachment, he can not be in a position to decide, single handed, on which course of action to pursue at any particular stage of the process. Thus the professional planner is likely to be of most help in the formulation and modification of structure plans; in the initial design of a surveillance system; and in the analysis of alternative action programmes, though the design of these must remain the corporate responsibility of those responsible for their execution and for the consequences of their implementation.

The approach to planning outlined here calls for several fundamental changes in traditional attitudes to planning and urban development. It challenges the concept of a plan and redefines plan making as a continuous process for the formulation of ephemeral strategies for action. Its aims are to regulate the directions of physical development through public sector anticipatory action, thus leading the private sector, rather than trying to control the latter's initiative. This concerns public sector entrepreneurship which has highly political implications. So does the call for a review of the mechanisms of urban government and administration. However, unless such issues are faced, the search for more efficient ways to regulate the development of the physical environment is likely to be interminable. For if planning is a process, the success of its results rests upon procedures.

Administrative Reform: A study of an intensive Agricultural Programme in India

C. V. RAGHAVULU*

The last two decades witnessed considerable interest on the part of social scientists in understanding the processes and variables associated with development in the Third World countries. Attempts to study administrative reform have been an off-shoot of the general concern with development and related phenomena.[1] The focus on development has also led to a renewed interest in the means-ends continuum.[2] The introduction of administrative reform has been considered an important means for increasing productivity and stimulating change in priority areas. The experience of the Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) in West Godavari District (Andhra Pradesh, India) from 1960 through 1971 in introducing reforms in governmental machinery offers an interesting illustration in this regard.

The IADP was designed by the Government of India in collaboration with the Ford Foundation in the wake of the food crisis of the late 1950s. The basic principle underlying the programme is that concentration of scarce inputs – technical staff, fertilizers, improved seeds, etc. – in the potentially productive districts would produce more food faster than a thin spreadover of the same resources. One of the unique features of the programme was its emphasis on innovation and the develop-

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[1]Much of the writing in this area is orientated towards theory building and model construction. The work of Fred Riggs is a typical example. See his *Administration in Developing Countries, Theory of a Prismatic Society* (Boston, Houghton Miffin, 1964). The writings of Appleby and Braibanti fail at the other extreme and demonstrate greater empathy for the historical continuities and administrative traditions of South Asian countries. See Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India, Report of a Survey* (Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1953) and R. Braibanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India' in R. Braibanti and J. J. Spengler (Eds) *Administration and Economic Development in India* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1963).

[2]See E. W. Weidner, *Technical Assistance in Public Administration, The Case for Development Administration* (Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1964). One of the earliest advocates of this approach for India is V. A. Pai Panandiker. See his 'Developmental Administration: An Approach', *Indian Journal of Public Administration* (Jan–Mar 1964). Other works in this tradition include A. H. Hanson, *The Process of Planning in India, A Study of India's Five-Year Plans*, 1950–1964 (London, Oxford University Press, 1966).

ment of suitable organisational structures and other administrative arrangements. The original five IADP districts, including West Godavari, were expected to be the path finders and to provide guidance to planners, administrators, foreign-aid agencies and the farmers engaged in agricultural development effort.[1] The main objective of this paper is to describe the efforts toward bringing about administrative reform and the decision-making process associated with such efforts.

Most of the proposals for reform emanated from the Ford Foundation, the agency that provided financial assistance to the programme and rendered consultancy services. The public administration component of the programme merely represented an extension of the recommendations made in a joint report of the Ford Foundation and the Government of India.[2] The Report emphasised that extraordinary organisational and administrative actions and measures were required to meet the challenge of producing more food. They also outlined a series of recommendations on administrative structure, personnel, budgeting and office organisation.[3]

The Food Crisis Report suggested that at the district level an officer with the status of the Collector, having 'a knowledge of agriculture and fully cognisant of the seriousness of the food crisis be given authority to implement policies and programmes for increasing food production'.[4] The Report stressed the need for a single officer-based system. The suggestion was elaborated in subsequent reports[5] and writings[6] that the Government of India and the Ford Foundation were in favour of an agricultural specialist co-equal in status and authority with that of the Collector, providing leadership for agricultural production functions.

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[1]The strategy of concentrating resources in select districts raised a great deal of discussion. For details see F. R. Frankel, 'Ideology and Politics in Economic Planning: The Problem of Indian Agricultural Development Strategy', *World Politics*, July 1967, pp 621–629; B. S. Minhas and T. N. Srinivasan, 'New Agricultural Production Strategy: Some Policy Issues' in A. M. Khusro (Ed.), *Readings in Agricultural Development* (Bombay, Allied Publishers, 1968), pp 173–185; Asok Mitra, 'The Wages of a Breakthrough', in *Statesman Supplement on The Wonder Seed* (Calcutta, December 18, 1968), p 3. Also see Guy Hunter, *The Administration of Agricultural Development, Lessons from India* (London, Oxford University Press, 1969) and K. Seshadri, *Agricultural Administration in Andhra Pradesh* (Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1974).

[2]Government of India, *Report on India's Food Crisis and Steps To Meet It* (New Delhi, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1959).

[3]For details see Ford Foundation, *Suggestions for 10-Point Pilot Programme to Increase Food Production* (mimeo.) (New Delhi, November 1959), p 5. Also see Edward Kieloch, 'Some Administrative Challenges to Intensive Agricultural Development', *The Indian Journal of Public Administration* (September 1969), special number.

[4]See Government of India, *Memorandum of Agreement between the Ford Foundation and the Government of India* (mimeo.) (New Delhi, March 1960).

[5]See Government of India, *Intensive Agricultural District Programme, Second Report* (1960–65) (New Delhi, Department of Agriculture, 1966). The concluding section of the Report, by and large, represented the views of the Foundation's Consultants and Indian Agricultural experts.

[6]See Kieloch, *op cit.*

Based on the Food Crisis Report, a joint team of Indo-American experts prepared a comprehensive scheme for the introduction of a pilot scheme entitled 'The Intensive Agricultural District Programme'. Their recommendations were submitted to the Government of India for consideration. The scheme and the pattern of assistance were discussed at a series of meetings between the Ford Foundation, the Government of India, and the Secretaries of the State Agricultural Departments, before entering into an agreement.[1] The following are some of the major proposals with a bearing on administrative reform at the district level:-

To establish a State level coordinating committee to ensure full and effective coordination of all the resources available to agriculture.
To assign to the District Collector full responsibility for, and authority to implement, the programme.
To appoint a senior agricultural officer (Project Officer) to be in charge of the project within the district vested with the power of the District Collector in matters concerning agricultural production.
To appoint a team of 4 or 5 subject matter specialists in various branches of agriculture to support the Project Officer. They should be Masters' degree holders in their respective fields.
To assure that all project personnel including the Collector will be retained in the district for the five-year period except for transfers for inefficiency or disciplinary action. Their promotion should be based on successful handling of their part of the programme.
To liberalise the financial rules and delegate adequate administrative and financial powers at all levels to assure speedy programme implementation.
To involve the local people and their representatives in the planning process.[2]

The proposals submitted earlier by the Ford Foundation were silent about the role of the collector. One important change introduced at the meeting of the Secretaries (generalist officers of the ICS/IAS) was to designate the District Collector as the officer responsible for the IADP at the district level. The secretaries perceived that the collector or the generalist district officer was better equipped to fulfil the role of a development functionary than an agricultural specialist. However, the provision concerning the appointment of a joint-collector to relieve the collector of some of his responsibilities was not fulfilled.[3] The IADP turned out to be one more addition to the collector's long list of activities of a diverse character. Ever since Dean Appleby reported (1953) about the complexity of the collector's job, it has been saddled with additional duties. The collector's job was tending to be basically unmanageable; the decision to graft IADP to the district collector's job without corresponding organisational arrangements, indicates the casual attention paid to a programme that required 'crisis management'. It became increasingly clear that a busy district

[1] See Government of India, Memorandum of Agreement, *op cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See Government of Andhra Pradesh, *G.O.Ms.No.*1016 (Hyderabad, General Administration Department, July 8, 1960), although the post was sanctioned for an initial period of one year it was filled for three months only.

officer could not provide concerted leadership to a programme of intensive agricultural development.

The next issue of administrative reform relates to the local Government role in IADP. On this issue,[1] the State Chief Minister decided to associate the *Zilla Parishad* (Z.P.) the district level local authority, with the IADP. The decision was in line with the statute[2] on local government enacted a few months earlier. It was also decided, at the aforementioned meeting, to constitute a State Level Coordination Committee (SLCC), with a senior officer of the Indian Civil Service as Chairman.

During the early stages of its operation, the SLCC assumed a key role, overshadowing other agencies, including the *Zilla Parishad*. At its second meeting, the SLCC passed a resolution, on the initiative of its Chairman, according a nominal role to the *Zilla Parishad* and ignoring an earlier decision of the State Chief Minister.[3]

At this stage, the State department of local administration which considers the local government institutions as its clientele emerged as a champion of the *Zilla Parishad*'s interests. The deupty secretary of the department wrote to the SLCC referring to an earlier decision of the Chief Minister to associate the *Zilla Parishad* with the IADP.[4] Some time later, a decision was taken to include the Chairman of the *Zilla Parishad* on the committee.

It was also decided to entrust the implementation of the scheme to the *Zilla Parishad* by providing the IADP funds as grants-in-aid. The IADP staff were also transferred to the *Zilla Parishad*.

It was further provided that the collector, in his capacity as Chairman of the *Zilla Parishad's* Standing Committe on Agricultural Production, would be in charge of the IADP scheme. The *Zilla Parishad* was asked by the State Government to specify the manner and circumstances and the limits up to which the collector and the project officer be permitted to act on their own. The instructions issued by the State Government at the instance of the Department of Local Administration had turned full circle.

The restoration to the *Zilla Parishad* of its due position was largely a result of the role played by the Department of Local Administration. The latter has been associated with the administration of the rural local government institutions, and

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[1]See Government of Andhra Pradesh, *Proceedings of the Meeting held on June* 1, 1960, (Hyderabad, Directorate of Agriculture, Board's/5/1/60, 1960).

[2]See Government of Andhra Pradesh, *The Andhra Pradesh Samithis and Zilla Parishads Act* (Hyderabad, Government Press, 1959), Sec. 47.

[3]See Government of Andhra Pradesh, *Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the SLCC* (Hyderabad, Directorate of Agriculture, September 7–8, 1960).

[4]See Government of Andhra Pradesh, *Intensive Agricultural District Programme:* Note by *Deputy Development Commissioner* (Hyderabad, Planning and Local Administration Department, July 27, 1960).

was responsible for sponsoring legislation on democratic decentralisation and devolution of powers to the local bodies. The department's historical links with people's institutions, and the consequent interaction with local political elite, developed strong clientele interests. It is also important to note that the department of local administration was a recent creation. On top of this was the support given by the State Chief Minister to associate the *Zilla Parishad* with the IADP.

In actual practice, the *Zilla Parishad*'s role in IADP tended to be nominal with the key role being seized by the SLCC. As the committee was presided over by a senior ICS officer, it assumed the role of taking decisions on matters of field level as well as of State level. The third Evaluation Report[1] – undertaken by a joint team of the Government of India and the Ford Foundation – made cryptic references to this matter; it was argued that such a practice resulted in taking away initiative and freedom of action from the field level and that the decisional centre moved upwards.

The present study indicates that within West Godavari district, a few officials (who participated in the SLCC deliberations) felt that the dominant personality of the chairman turned the proceedings of the committee into a 'one-man-show'. Others felt that such a description was unfair in view of the then chairman's firm grip over the facts, and thorough understanding about the agricultural conditions of the district. There was, however, greater agreement among those interviewed that the role of the *Zilla Parishad* and its elected functionaries was extremely limited in regard to the IADP decision-making process.

Divergent views have been expressed about the reasons for the *Zilla Parishad*'s inactive role. One widely shared view among the *Zilla Parishad*'s political elite was that they had to submit to the dictates of the top bureaucrats because of the immense power wielded by the latter. It was reported that they did not want to incur the wrath of the district collector and the chairman of the SLCC by confronting them with legal and jurisdictional battles. Their political perspective would entail occasional submission in order to gain access and influence and to further the chance of becoming successful politicians.

Yet, submission was a bitter pill to a few politicians; their perception was that a majority of the top civil servants had serious reservations about the issue of transferring power to the elected local body at the district level, or to consider them as legitimate partners in the developmental effort. Several instances were quoted by them to support the view that some of the key civil servants had a low esteem for representative politics.[2] However, they were too eager to offer counter examples of

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[1] See Government of India, *Modernising Indian Agriculture, Report on the IADP* (1960–68), Vol I (hereafter Fourth Report) (New Delhi, Department of Agriculture, 1969), pp 36–37.

[2] Two studies based on field data from two different regions of India lend support to this interpretation. See S. Kothari and R. Roy, *Relations between Politicians and Administrators at the District Level* (New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1969), pp 52–56 and R. P. Taub, *Bureaucrats under Stress* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969), pp 106–115.

civil servants who would go out of their way to involve the political elite in the decisional processes or developmental effort.

There is yet another dimension to the issue of the role of the *Zilla Parishad* in the IADP. Some of the legislators were more vehement in their opposition to enlarging the role of the *Zilla Parishad*. The reasons for such a standpoint are not far to seek; they were apprehensive of the emergence of rival power centres within the district as the *Zilla Parishad* accumulated more power and acquired greater legitimacy.

Reform Proposals on Personnel and Financial Administration

Several provisions of the agreement between the Foundation and the Central and State Governments relate to personnel and financial administration. This section relates the process of their adoption or non-adoption, and brings out the dominant considerations that prevailed in the outcome of each decision. The proposals include (a) the appointment of agricultural specialists to middle level management positions within the district; (b) continuity of staff in the IADP district over a five-year period; (c) flexibility in staffing arrangements; (d) appointment of the best available personnel to the selected district; (e) provision of additional incentives for employees serving in IADP; and (f) promotions of IADP staff solely on the basis of performance.

These proposals, which originated with the Ford Foundation, were typical of its incremental approach. The intention was to make the best out of the situation by bringing about marginal improvements in all possible areas. The suggestion to appoint block development officers (BDOs) with an agricultural background relates to the United States experience in the field and carries a bias for technical personnel, whereas, the recommendation pertaining to the need for continuity of staff and flexible staffing arrangements, have relevance to the nature of agricultural activity. The uniform staffing pattern established under the previous Community Development Programme was found to be unsuitable in a country with wide agro-economic variations. In rain-fed regions, failure of the monsoon would leave the agricultural personnel with little work-load. On the other hand, in an assured irrigated zone, where intensive cropping takes place, emergencies (such as the outbreak of a pest attack) would require more manpower. Staff continuity was, therefore, considered essential for a number of factors relevant to agricultural planning and extension work in the Indian setting.

On the issue of the appointment of Block Development Officers with an agricultural background, none of the State development departments was enthusiastic. The only exception to this was the Directorate of Agriculture (an agency of agricultural specialists) whose employees would benefit from this measure. As per the prevailing practice, promotion to the cadre of BDOs was based on a quota system for employees of the Revenue, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Social Education and Local Government Agencies. Under this arrangement, the lion's share went to the traditional Revenue employees. At the time the proposal was made, there were 37 BDOs with an agricultural background in the entire State. There were only two BDOs with this background in West Godavari district as against 25 posts of BDOs. The situation

allowed two alternatives to the decision-makers: one was to transfer the required number of BDOs to West Godavari district and the other was to modify the prevailing quota system to enable a larger number of agricultural graduates to become BDOs. The proposal to appoint agricultural BDOs was communicated to the department of local administration which deals with transfers or placement decisions. The department decided not to disturb the *status quo*. The secretary of the department felt that the BDOs from the revenue department 'could always be depended upon to do the task.'

The decision-making process regarding the appointment of agricultural BDOs points to a clash on two fronts. One was clearly programmatic: the immediate transfer of a large number of BDOs would entail disturbance to the administration in those localities whence BDOs who were to be picked for service in West Godavari district. Besides, it would entail considerable personal and political costs that the policy-makers would rather avoid. The other objection to the proposal stems from deep-rooted perceptions about the relative competence of the Agricultural BDOs over that of the Revenue BDOs. It hits at the core of the current administrative doctrine of the generalist bureaucracy; many of them subscribe to the view that the generalist Revenue Officials at subordinate levels were better equipped than officials of any other cadre of speciality to face the challenges of any type of field administration, let alone agricultural administration. The decision not to expand the quota of promotions of the agricultural specialists to the BDO's cadre was based on the same perception.

The provision concerning the appointment of the best available personnel to the district received some attention. Yet, there were instances of some BDOs and Block level agricultural personnel, known for their poor records, continuing to remain within the district by virtue of their influential connections. Of the district level agricultural specialists appointed at the inception of the project, only one had a Masters degree. As long as no changes were attempted in the prevailing personnel practices, many of the conditions underlying the staffing proposals could not be carried out. In the absence of lateral recruitment, the creation of new posts at higher levels enabled the lower level employees simply to move into the newly created positions. Similarly, reliance on seniority did not ensure that the best man was always promoted. Any changes in this regard required action by the departments of general administration and finance, two of the most powerful departments within the State Government. But these departments showed no inclination to disturb the existing rules. As a result, the proposals were shelved.

The principle of continuity of staff over a period of five years was initially accepted at a meeting of the officials of the development departments which was convened by the State Chief Minister.[1] But the resolution remained on paper only. Transfers of staff all along the line from the collector and the district project officer down to the lowest level had been quite frequent. During the first decade of operation of the IADP (1960–70) the district had four collectors, the average tenure being 30 months.

[1]See Government of Andhra Pradesh, Proceedings of the Meeting held on June 1, 1960, *op cit.*

The average tenure of project officers in the district was less than two years. There were thirteen secretaries to the *Zilla Parishad* during the same period. The tenure of other officials in the district was no better. Criticisms and comments by successive evaluation teams on this point did not bring about any change either.[1] As late as 1967 Dr Ensminger, the Chief of the Ford Foundation, had a meeting with the State Chief Minister to convey his criticisms about the posting of inefficient staff and frequent staff transfers. The Chief Minister evinced keen interest and gave him positive assurances on both the issues.[2]

Despite assurances at the highest political level there was no follow-up action. It is hard to find out the motivations behind such non-decisions. If one has to speculate, political realism was probably responsible for deliberate inaction. It is common knowledge to those familiar with the Indian scene that placement decisions are a significant variable in the interaction between the political and administrative processes. The departments of local administration and general administration, the directorate of agriculture and the *Zilla Parishad* were the agencies concerned with placement decisions. For reasons concerned with the political mobilization process, the *Zilla Parishad* was more vulnerable than other bodies to influence affecting placement decisions of the village level workers and agricultural extension officers. Influence in regard to the transfers of other functionaries was exerted, at the State level, through bureaucrats as well as politicians. In some instances, caste linkage provided a stable channel. In others, influence was exercised through the local political elite who had contacts either with the State Ministers or bureaucratic heads of individual agencies.

Initially, the State Government had accepted a proposal to provide 25 per cent of extra salary as an incentive to the additional personnel posted in the IADP district. Subsequently, the decision was reversed on receipt of instructions from the Government of India that the proposal should be extended to the non-IADP staff working in the IADP district. The Government of India felt[3] that if the incentive pay – granted to the additional staff – were not extended to the normal staff working in the district, the latter would suffer a loss of morale. The State Government, on the other hand was concerned that personnel employed in the remaining districts of the State, might claim incentive pay if the scheme were not withdrawn.

The proposals relating to delegation of administrative and financial powers to the project staff received little attention. Successive evaluation teams[4] drew the attention of the State Government to the need for delegation of powers to the field staff.

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[1]See Government of India, IADP Second Report, *op cit*, pp 9–10; and Fourth Report, *op cit*, p vii.

[2]See Government of Andhra Pradesh, *IADP In West Godavari District: Posting and Retaining Efficient Staff* (Hyderabad, Directorate of Agriculture, June 8, 1967).

[3]See Government of Andhra Pradesh, *Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the SLCC* (Hyderabad, Directorate of Agriculture, 1961).

[4]See Government of India, IADP Fourth Report, *op cit*, pp 23–24.

In each case, the proposals were processed by a number of agencies and at various levels within the agencies. The outcome of such processing was generally to tone down the importance of the proposals. In essence, the traditional departments at the State level – revenue and finance in particular – were not inclined to disturb the general administrative pattern obtaining in the State.[1]

A virtue was made out of sterile uniformity. Even in matters such as selection of seed varieties to be introduced in the district, decisions were taken at the State and Federal levels and with little sensitivity to the agro-climatic conditions of the district.[2]

Nevertheless, the IADP experience with administrative reforms has several more positive lessons to offer. The transfer of the IADP funds to the *Zilla Parishad* provided considerable flexibility at the operational level. It enabled the district collector (who was the chairman of the standing committee on agriculture of the *Zilla Parishad*) to reappropriate funds, spend money beyond the normal ceilings and release money at short notice. Flexibility in operations was maintained through informal rather than formal delegation of powers in other areas. But this was not uniform throughout the period.

The extent of informal delegation depended, to a considerable degree, upon the relative power and interest of the successive office-holders in key positions – the chairman of the SLCC, the district collector, the state level project officer and the district level project officer – and the degree of mutual trust in bilateral relationships. For instance, the period from 1966–69 was characterised by greater interest and dynamism at the district level than in the previous or succeeding periods because of the prevalence of the pattern described above.

Several experimental programmes – turn system of irrigation, triple cropping programme, rural electrification scheme and the 'depog' method of nurseries – were carried out with little trouble and few bottlenecks. Crucial to some of these programmes was the interest and dynamism demonstrated by the district collector. The experimental zeal and the drive are reminiscent of the personal interest shown by some of the famous British district officers of the 19th century.

The important point to note in this context is that the administrative structure and behaviour would disappear the moment the key officers move out of their current roles or locations. That is what happened precisely under the IADP. The operational flexibility was, therefore, tempoary and short-lived. It does not appear to have become a part of the routine and much less a principle of the administrative doctrine. Formalisation of some of the IADP's administrative features did take place when the State Government introduced the Zilla Development Board's scheme in 1967. The

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[1] The State Government did embark on delegation of financial powers to the District Collectors throughout the State in 1967 under the Zilla Development Board Scheme.

[2] See Government of India, *Report on Intensive Agricultural Production Programmes* (New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1967), p 5.

scheme, though short-lived, did incorporate some of the important lessons of the IADP.

Conclusions

No serious observer or experienced practitioner would claim that administrative reform is an automatic process. In the case of the Indian administrative system we do not start with a clean slate; it has a doctrine and a rationale backed by a long period of practice. Successive bureaucrats seem to have 'internalized' the doctrine and the norms that go with it.[1] Many of the practising administrators seem to believe that the structure and procedures have withstood the test of time successfully. On the other hand, several observers comment that the system needs reorientation and modification to meet the changing goals and environment. The IADP proposals for reform should be viewed and understood in this context.

Some of the proposals for administrative reform advanced by the Ford Foundation were aimed at increasing the role of the elected representatives of the people as catalysts of change on the agricultural front. A few proposals relate to increasing the technical inputs and enhancing the status of agricultural specialists. The latter proposal appears to stem directly from their US experience with agricultural programmes. As the preceding discussion demonstrates, the substance of the Ford Foundation's proposals ran counter to the prevailing administrative doctrine and the decision makers' perceptions of what was desirable. The generalist administrators who processed the reform proposals were, by and large, successful in realising their objective: to permit only minimal changes in the administrative system. There was resistance to some of the more rational proposals because Indian decision makers were not enthusiastic about transforming the system for the sake of an experiment. Piecemeal and isolated experiments and innovative programmes like the IADP had to come to terms with the overwhelming power and resilience of the macro-level administrative culture. Also evident from our observational data are some of the more positive aspects associated with the operation of the programme. We find that the programme operated with greater flexibility than the manuals and rules would normally permit; this was largely due to the personal interest and dynamism displayed by key administrators during their tenure in the district. It is, however, important to note that changes that operated at an informal level were not incorporated into administrative doctrine. Clearly, the overall impact of the IADP on the administrative system was much less than had been initially hoped for.

The IADP experience suggests another conclusion. In the Indian bureaucratic setting, exogenous reform attempts seem to have a lower probability of gaining acceptability. As such, administrative change would be marginal, slow and incremental. The extent of change would depend, to a considerable extent, upon the degree of openness of the host country's key administrators, the aid agency's level of understanding of, and empathy for the host country's administrative culture, and the nature of mutual learning experiences.

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[1]For a perceptive account of the norms of Indian administrators see Stanley H. Heginbothom, *Cultures in Conflict: Four Faces of Indian Bureaucracy* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1975).

Student Research in Lesotho

DAVID HIRSCHMANN and
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Introduction

There is little need in a Journal of this nature to argue the case for placing undergraduate students of Public Administration in practical work situations at some point in the course of their studies. Government ministries, parastatals and international and voluntary agencies all provide useful locations for affording students the opportunity to encounter, observe and analyse administrative processes and problems. This experience, when related to some of the theory of the classroom, goes some way towards bridging the gap between what is learnt at university and the realities of administration and management in practice.

In May–August 1976 (the long vacation) a pilot project along these lines was undertaken by the Department of Government and Administration of the National University of Lesotho. The Government side of the Department concentrates on political studies/political science, while the Administration side is concerned with public administration including courses on Introduction to Public Administration, Personnel Administration, Administration of Development Planning, Administration of Rural Development, Comparative Administration and Financial Administration. (A new course on Public Enterprises will be introduced in the near future). The practically-oriented research project has been included as a requisite integral part of the course framework, to be undertaken at the end of the third year of study by students majoring in Administration, to be presented and examined in their final year, and included in their overall assessment. The content of the courses generally, as also the emphasis of the research assignment, is designed bearing in mind that the Lesotho civil service remains the overwhelmingly predominant employer of all university graduates and that the parastatal sector, though still small, is growing and will attract an increasing number of graduates.

This brief report provides a note on the first experience with a student research undertaking of this nature. Although we mention a number of problems which were encountered, we have little doubt that the exercise was successful. It is in this belief that we offer our report. We hope too that it will be of some interest to

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The authors wish to express their gratitude to the students who participated in the assignment.

departments at other universities, particularly in Africa, which are running similar programmes or are planning to do so.

It is inevitable in an exercise of this nature (particularly in its experimental stage) that certain problems will arise. Fortunately, in this case, the hitches were primarily of a minor kind, resulting mainly from misunderstandings between, or details overlooked by the students, the vacation employers and/or ourselves as supervisors of the assignment. Individually, these matters were resolved without much difficulty. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that this early problem-solving task in preparing for the project was both time- and energy-consuming.

Two factors were of considerable assistance to the project, both of them associated with the break-up of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in October 1975, and the formation of the National University of Lesotho in the same month. Firstly, Government and University cooperation became much easier to achieve and maintain. Civil servants felt that it was necessary to do everything possible to assist the newly created institution. When approached, their reactions were, almost without exception, positive. Had we been operating from the former tri-national university it is possible that the response would have been somewhat lukewarm. Secondly, the break-up meant that in this first trial run, there were relatively few students to place – only a dozen, as opposed to thirty-five before the break-up. This enabled us to deal with each student individually and to spend more time with each potential vacation employer explaining the nature of the assignment which the students were required to undertake. This situation is changing. By 1977 the number of students had risen to thirty-seven, and it will increase further in 1978. Liaison has been established with the Cabinet Personnel Office of the Lesotho Government to assist with the problems created by this expansion.

Preliminary questions

A number of issues of strategy arose at the outset and these required early decisions. Firstly, there was the question of whether an aid agency should be approached to provide the salaries of the students during the assignment. The University's Economics Department had previously attempted to use foreign assistance for a similar purpose, but certain misunderstandings and delays in communication led to a belated cancellation of the whole project. Nevertheless there were some government officials who argued in favour of using aid. The alternative was for the students to earn salaries from the agencies to which they were attached. This latter course was considered preferable. Not only does it avoid the numerous uncertainties associated with the use of aid, but also (and of more importance) it was felt that in this way the students would gain more both in terms of education and experience. Departments and agencies are more likely to try to make good use of students on their payroll (rather than those for whom they bear no financial responsibility), thus increasing the exposure of the students to work situations. Further, the more directly the student comes into contact with the public servants whose activities he is observing, and the more meaningful their work association, the more probable that the research will yield worthwhile results. A second issue concerned the weight which should be given to this assignment in assessing the student's final marks. The

students were obviously interested in this from an early stage. On the one hand, considerable emphasis on the research project in the final assessment would clearly serve to enhance student interest and attention. On the other hand, it was also clear that the particular circumstances in which each student would find him- or herself would not provide equal opportunities for rewarding and fruitful research, and that the personnel with whom each one served would not all be equally cooperative. In this case a compromise was arrived at according to which the mark awarded was to count considerably more than for a normal class assignment, but less than for a full course in the subject.

A third issue requiring an early decision concerned the use to which the final essays/reports would be put. Both students and employers wanted to know whether they would remain confidential. Wide distribution of the reports would have been advantageous in a number of respects: it would assist in the important tasks of building up and disseminating information on administration in Lesotho, be of use and interest to the employing agencies and encourage the students to extend themselves. It was decided nevertheless that the reassurance which confidentiality would provide the various parties would assist both the research undertaking and the preparation of reports. Public servants, etc., would feel freer to provide information and express their views to the students, and the students in turn would be encouraged to be frank and honest in their criticism and analysis. (A few students specifically noted that distribution of their assignments could prejudice their future careers). A few copies of the best essays are to be retained in the department as examples for successive classes and for possible use in modified form for teaching at a later stage.

Procedure followed

1 About three months before the vacation the students were informed that they would be required to carry out the assignment and were given some general information. Some hostility to, and suspicion of, the scheme was expressed: some students were not convinced that practical work should form part of undergraduate study; others were concerned about possible loss of vacation earnings; and, as could be anticipated, at least some students felt resentment at being treated as 'guinea pigs'. In the discussion most doubts were settled in a reasonably satisfactory manner.

2 About three weeks later, students were asked to nominate organizations in which they wanted to work, and also to state whether they would be able to obtain work themselves. (Some students regularly obtain employment in government during the vacation).

3 About half the students thought that they could arrange jobs for themselves and were given two weeks in which to do so. In the meantime, we tried to find places for the others. As far as possible, this was done through already existing contacts in Government, the parastatals, etc.

4 Once employment had been arranged for most of the students, it was necessary to discuss quite fully with the employers the purpose of the exercise and to obtain their cooperation. We encountered little difficulty as far as this was

concerned although, as noted above, the issue of the status of the students' reports was raised by a few employers.

5 Students were then given the 'green light' and asked to contact their employers to arrange dates for starting work, etc.

6 A few weeks before the end of the semester a lecture period was devoted to discussing the assignment with the students. Suggestions were made as to the kinds of issues to tackle in the field and methods to employ. Without going into detail, these covered such matters as a public servant's actual workload in comparison with his terms of reference; internal and external communication; possible and actual overlap with other agencies; staff turnover and reasons for it; and the role of expatriates and counterparts, and the relations between the two. A few hints were given on how to approach the interviewing of officers and the public and how to obtain and use documents. It was stressed, however, that no hard and fast rules were being laid down. No two students would encounter exactly the same set of circumstances and this necessitated a flexible approach. In particular, students would only be able to decide what the interesting and important issues were in a given organization once they had commenced working. This kind of unpredictability had to be anticipated and provided for.

7 The students commenced work. Of the dozen students involved, six worked for the Government directly. Two of these were in the Ministry of the Interior (one based at a District Administrator's Office in northern Lesotho, one in the Maseru Township Office), three in the Ministry of Agriculture (two in central administration, one in the conservation division), and one in the Department of Tourism. Of the rest, two worked for the Lesotho National Development Corporation, a parastatal with an expanding programme of industrialization in the country, two in semi-autonomous rural development projects funded by donor agencies (principally USA, World Bank and Canada) and two (both non-Basotho) worked in the Save the Children Fund (one at its Lesotho branch and one in Swaziland). Thus a fairly wide range of government and semi-government activity was covered. It is, however, a reflection of the rather centralized nature of Lesotho's administration that only two of the eleven students working in Lesotho were not actually based in Maseru. In subsequent years, it is hoped that a better geographical spread will be achieved. In the course of their work, all the students were visited at least once by us and some twice. These visits provided an opportunity to discuss progress and research suggestions and deal with any problems.

8 Soon after the start of the first semester of the following academic year, tutorial sessions, attended by all students, were used for a 'de-briefing' where verbal reports were given on research experiences. There was also some discussion on how the material was to be put into written form.

9 In the first two months of the semester, preparatory drafts were written, and students were given the opportunity to request general (rather than detailed) comments on these. Most of them took advantage of this.

10 At the beginning of the second semester, final reports were handed in and assessed. A number of factors were taken into account in awarding marks: organization and presentation of material; clarity of expression; initiative

displayed in fieldwork; and quality of the content of the reports, with special reference to originality of criticism, analysis and recommended reforms.

Problems experienced

A brief discussion of some of the problems encountered in undertaking this project may be of interest.

Firstly, there was the question of student suspicion. There was a feeling that they were being manoeuvred into something quite different from normal study, the value of which was not very clear to them. It was not, however, difficult to convince most students that this was a useful exercise – although one or two maintained a rather reluctant attitude throughout.

Some confusion was caused by students who told us they had been offered jobs when in fact they had only approached potential employers who had noted their names. The reasons for this were not clear but a definite misunderstanding existed. In a few instances, students were confident of getting jobs whereas the officers in the departments concerned only vaguely recalled having met them. These breakdowns in communication required sorting out.

A slight problem also arose over the two non-Basotho students. Luckily both were in receipt of scholarships from the United Nations Development Programme, which was very helpful in placing one in Lesotho and the other in Swaziland.

A further obstacle encountered was that one or two employers had not given much thought as to how to use the students. As a result, one student became so bored that he left his job after having done sufficient research to put together a presentable essay. He would, however, have benefitted much more had he been given a useful job of work to do. If possible, fuller discussion with such employers needs to be undertaken to see if problems of this kind can be resolved.

Another example concerned a student who decided to change jobs halfway through the vacation in order to obtain more money – which meant that previous discussions with him and his employers were wasted. In this case, he was allowed to 'make up' by doing an additional library assignment. In future years, students will be told that once they embark on their vacation work they have to complete it. This will not always be enforceable but should avoid frequent repetition of such cases.

Another kind of difficulty was experienced in one case where the employers felt the student was not performing satisfactorily and by mutual agreement the student left the job but not before collecting enough material for the purpose of writing a reasonable assignment. It should be noted that this student was one of the two posted away from Maseru – in this case in a remote, mountainous area – and this had something to do with his failure to adjust adequately to the work.

Finally, there were a few cases where some fellow workers proved uncooperative and hindered rather than helped the students. In most cases, non-cooperation was experienced not with senior personnel, but with those of a more junior rank who

appeared to feel threatened by the presence of the students. Here the students simply had to adapt and find ways of overcoming the difficulties – in itself a useful experience for people about to enter the public service.

Benefits of the exercise

The following list of essay topics indicates something of the way in which the students' knowledge was broadened by carrying out the assignment, as well as the nature of this initial, useful contribution to knowledge of administration in Lesotho (about which little has been written so far) and, potentially, to a 'bank' of teaching material:

1 The administrative system of Save the Children Fund, Lesotho branch.
2 Analysis of the administration of the Thaba Bosiu Rural Development Project.
3 Project report on the Maseru Township Office.
4 The First Five Year Development Plan 1970/71–1974/5 – Project evaluation – Ministries of Agriculture and Health.
5 Coordination and integration of various agricultural programmes within the Ministry of Agriculture, Cooperative and Marketing and with the various agricultural development projects, by the establishment of the Agricultural Development Authority.
6 The role of the District Administrator.
7 The Lesotho National Development Corporation.
8 Thaba Tseka Mountain Development Programme.
9 A survey of rural development administration in Lesotho since independence with special reference to planning, decentralization, training and foreign aid (library assignment).
10 Project analysis, Conservation Division, Ministry of Agriculture.
11 Report on Save the Children Fund, Swaziland branch.

Overall we feel that the students gained considerably from this exercise; their exposure to practical work situations has been most helpful. Many of the students, to judge by their essays, gained real insight into the work of the organizations in which they were placed (although, as expected, some did not make as much of the opportunity as they might have). They were able to take note of (sometimes participate in) and distinguish between undertakings effectively performed and those encountering setbacks, and to prepare tentative explanations of the elements making for success or failure. They had an opportunity also of observing the numerous factors which intrude upon and hinder the smooth management of the tasks of the organizations for which they worked, e.g. children's suspicion that food provided by schools may have been poisoned by members of antagonistic families (an example from Swaziland); the non-cooperative attitude of parents towards headmasters and of headmasters towards agencies supplying food or equipment, consequent upon frequent increases in prices; the administrative complications caused by bad roads, washaways of bridges and tracks and vehicle breakdowns; the frequent delays in delivery of equipment and material resulting from the continual turnover of truck-drivers, many of whom are attracted by higher salaries in neighbouring South Africa; an array of confusions caused by unclear division of

responsibilities, divergent (often competing) recruitment mechanisms and salary levels for field staff of the major agricultural projects on the one hand, and of the Ministry of Agriculture on the other; the chronic inability of the District Administrator to settle disputes amongst district level staff – conflicts which impede district operations – because the staff concerned are all responsible to central ministries; the suspicions of the Lesotho towards allocations of land for industrial purposes and towards conservation measures, more so when the actions have not been fully explained beforehand; etc., etc.

These are not issues which are novel, but the value for the students was that they observed at first hand how such factors operate, their impact on administration and the varied responses to them. Furthermore the students obtained useful experience in interviewing people, and in finding and using reports and documents. The satisfaction most of them gained from carrying out an original piece of research was also clear. Another benefit has been observed in the enhanced self-confidence displayed by those students who made full use of the opportunities offered. On the basis of this first experience (as has been noted already) it is the intention that this programme will become an integral part of undergraduate study and thus contribute something useful to the preparation of students for entry into Lesotho's civil service and parastatal organizations.

Quarterly Notes

BRITAIN **Symposium on the transfer of power**

A two-day Symposium was held at St Antony's College, Oxford on 15–16th March 1978, sponsored by the Inter-African Committee for African Studies, and with Anthony Kirk-Greene, Senior Research Fellow at the College, largely responsible for the admirable organisation.

The purpose of the meeting was to record and to evaluate the impact of the transfer of power in Africa on the British Colonial Administrator. Here was an opportunity to hear and to question those who were actually on the ground, some at the grass roots, implementing the policies decided upon at Westminster and at Lancaster House and other similar conferences held as Independence approached – for future historians and researchers this 'live' record, hopefully, would add usefully to the large collection of reports and other documented material already available but often lacking the red corpuscles of reality.

Between an admirable opening address provided by Lord Boyd who looked back at the crises of Hola and Nyasaland from the viewpoint of the Secretary of State, to a *tour de force* by Professor Ronald Robinson who summed it all up with inimitable verve, the wide spectrum of British African administration was surveyed. Permanent and Under-Secretaries at the Colonial Office, Governor-Generals, Governors, Provincial and District Commissioners, District Officers – from East, West and Central Africa, all presented their subjective views with a commendable absence of personal anecdotes (those that there were were few, light-hearted and forgivable). If the galaxy of Knights tended to hog the discussion, then their contributions were invariably well worthwhile. The proceedings will be published in due course and it will suffice now, perhaps, to list a short miscellany of jottings:

a The surprise of a non-administrative observer at hearing so clearly from administrators at all levels how they had worked to effect a smooth transfer of power during the decade of decolonisation and did *not* oppose or try to delay operation 'Independence'.

b A *cri de coeur* from a former Somaliland official at the failure of Britain as the occupying power to ensure justice for the Ogaden so essential economically to the Somalis and ethnically theirs. The Ex-Colonial Office reply, in effect 'ours

was one voice only in the International Community and ours did not prevail' was not very convincing.

c Why, it was asked, was the 'Westminster Model' imposed on new African states where it was never likely to succeed? The answer was clear:

i this was the only model which British Administrators knew and which they could be expected to introduce;

ii emergent nationalist leaders would not have accepted an alternative system (had it been possible to devise one) as they would certainly have resented the suggestion that they and their country were not fit for the West's oldest and much admired Parliamentary system.

d The considerable extent to which expatriate administrators were involved in the politics of the day – essential to their task of achieving a smooth transfer of power was a close working relationship with nationalist political leaders.

e The intolerable burden of 'neutrality' placed on the Nyasaland administrators when required to expound the proposals for Central African Federation.

f The tempo with which the Administration was Africanised in most countries was not in accord with the pace at which Independence approached. Steps to train African administrators to take over expatriate posts were all too often of the 'too little and too late' variety. Nonetheless, African administrators often transferred from schools and medical services had done remarkably well when plunged into district administration.

g The absence of any pattern common to each country was clear. In some, detailed control had been concentrated at Chief Secretary level, in others there was a considerable measure of delegation. In many the generalist administrator using his traditional *ad hoc* methods and 'playing it by ear' successfully guided and sometimes even spurred his African clientele on to Independence – a task which surely the now more favoured specialist could never have managed to achieve so well!

(Specially contributed)

INTERNATIONAL – *World Energy Problems*

Maurice Strong lately Director General of the UN Environmental Programme and now in charge of Canada's Energy Agency, recently warned that if we assume that a decent standard of living for the world people inevitably requires increasing per capita use of energy, we shall be planning for an energy-starved world or an ecological disaster, or both. He urges serious rethinking about the use of energy, about the wasteful use of cars and coaches instead of mini-buses and public use of automobiles; governments in his view should plan streets with public, not private transport in mind.

Waste heat from power plants should be widely used, the use of solar energy should be furthered and gas produced from domestic and agricultural waste should provide the opportunity for small-scale intermediate technology.

Source: *West Africa*

BRITAIN The Courts of the Commonwealth and Judicial Precedent

A very successful conference on the Courts of the Commonwealth and Judicial Precedent in the Commonwealth was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, during the weekend of 22nd to 24th April 1977.

The conference was opened on Friday, 22nd April, by the Rt Hon Lord Cross, Chairman of the Comparative Law Section of the Advisory Board of the British Institute, who gave an introductory address, and then took the chair for the following session at which a paper was read by Professor Sir Rupert Cross, Vinerian Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Oxford, on the Ratio Decidendi in Appellate Courts.

Proceedings on the second day began with a session at which a paper was read by the Hon Mr Justice Chowdhury, formerly President of Bangladesh and a Judge of the High Court of Dacca, on Judicial Precedent as a Source of Law in the Sub-Continent and its Development in Bangladesh, and at which the Chairman was the Hon Sir Robert Megarry, Vice-Chancellor of the High Court of Justice in England and Chairman-Designate of the Comparative Law Section of the Advisory Board of the British Institute. This was follwed by a paper read by Professor Jack A. Hiller, Professor of Law, Valparaiso University, Indiana, USA, on The Law-Creative Role of Appellate Courts: Inter-Commonwealth Sources of Precedent, the Chairman being the Rt Hon Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls and Chairman of the Council of Management of the British Institute, who also gave a short general address.

In the afternoon, Professor R. A. Caldwell, Dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, read a paper on the Court Structures and Attitudes to Precedent in New Zealand. The Chairman at this session was Professor Jack A. Hiller.

In the evening, a paper was read by Mr H. H. Marshall, QC, Deputy Director of the British Institute on the Effect of English Precedents on the Laws of Commonwealth Countries, Lord Cross again taking the chair.

On the third day, there was a General Discussion Session at which all papers read at the conference were considered and questions on them answered. This was conducted by Professor R. A. Caldwell.

Among those present, in addition to those specifically mentioned above were Mr W. M. Bush, Barrister and Solicitor of the Supreme Court of Victoria, Australia; Mr K. K. Chopra, Legal Adviser to the Indian High Commission in the United Kingdom; Miss Jill Cotrell, Lecturer in Law, University of Warwick, Mr D. W. Sagar, Special Adviser (Legal), Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, Commonwealth Secretariat, and Dr (Mrs) A Sarup, Research Officer of the British Institute. There were present altogether 18 senior guests and 37 students of whom 5 each were from Canada and Malaysia, 4 from Australia, 3 each from India and Nigeria, 2 each from Bangladesh, Singapore and Sri Lanka and one each from Bahamas, Ghana, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kenya, Malawi, Montserrat, New Zealand, Pakistan, Rhodesia and Zambia. (Specially contributed)

Book Reviews

Administrative Management for Development: A Reader, YVES CHAPEL (Ed); UNESCO, *Paris*, 1977; pp 220; $US 12.00.

Continuous efforts have been made, after World War II, to improve the administrative capability for development of the developing countries, by international organizations and by national governments of both developing and developed countries. Of the international organizations, the United Nations (Public Administration Programme) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), as well as the IIAS (International Institute of Administrative Sciences) are among the leading institutions which have made significant contributions in this field, especially in its training aspects. USA, UK and France are the leading developed countries providing technical assistance in improving the administrative capacity for development of the developing countries.

There is a need for compiling teaching materials for the developing countries in the field of development administration, which would include *inter alia* some of the contributions by the institutions and countries mentioned in the last paragraph. It is to meet this need that UNESCO and IIAS jointly sponsored the compilation of a reader on administrative management for development. The French version was published in 1974 under the title *La Gestion administrative du development*. A completely revised volume, drawing heavily on the literature available on this subject in English, was published in 1977 under the title given above.

The editor of both volumes is Mr Yves Chapel, the Director of Research of IIAS. Mr Chapel, with his great experience and wide knowledge in this field, does provide us with two useful volumes, especially for the practitioners in the developing countries. The English volume contains four parts: (1) institutional framework, including (a) the distribution of duties and responsibilities between central government and local governments, (b) the organization of planning, and (c) administrative improvement for development; (2) personnel problems, including (a) the desirable administrative personnel, and (b) the management of human resources; (3) economic and financial aspects, including public aid or incentive to private enterprises, coordination of the public sector, and management of public enterprises; and (4) programme management (with special reference to policy-making, planning, execution, organization, and capability development of public work projects and programmes.) The last part is the longest one, occupying one-third of the text.

As the managing editor of the *International Review of Administrative Sciences* and an experienced author, Mr Chapel is a skillful editor. He was able to get all the four parts into a text a little over 200 pages. The extracts chosen in this Reader included publications by the United Nations Public Administration Programme, UNESCO, IIAS, and persons relating to them, as well as authors from USA, UK, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Of the 48 extracts, over half (26) were from UN, UNESCO and IIAS (with 20 items from UN publications), and about 10 extracts were from USA scholars (with 5 items from Prof Donald C. Stone). I am fully aware of the work of the United Nations in this field. No one would disagree that Prof Stone has probably done more technical assistance work for the developing countries than any other individual scholar in the field of administrative management for development. In spite of my association with the United Nations and my great respect for the invaluable contributions of Prof Stone, a great teacher in public administration, I do feel that to devote over 40 per cent of the items to UN and over 10 per cent to Prof Stone could be open to criticism as being unbalanced.

I am fully aware that the work of the editor was limited by space. If he were given more space, a balance could be established by adding a few authors from France (now none in this volume), two or three more from UK (now only two extracts), and some items from the World Bank and from international organizations in local governments and in other administrative fields. It would seem that this volume was for non-communist countries only, as no extract was from USSR or other communist countries. This point could perhaps be made explicit in the volume.

The limitation of space had obviously compelled the editor to omit some important subjects. If Mr Chapel were given more space, he could have included a section on the central administrative machinery in a modern polity in view of the growing extension of the scope of central activities in the process of development. Such a section could be placed before the section on distribution of duties and responsibilities. Similarly, should there be additional space, a section on training could be added under the personnel part; a section on organization going beyond the Weberian bureaucratic model and a section on methods and procedures could also be added.

Taking the limitation of space into consideration and reading this English volume with its earlier French volume, one would find Mr Chapel's new volume informative and helpful.

CHI-YUEN WU

The Changing Face of the Caribbean, IRENE HAWKINS; *Cedar Press, Barbados, W.I.*, 1976; tables; bibliography; index; maps; pp 271; £6.30.

This book reviews Caribbean economic problems and policies. Small size, meagre resources, colonial exploitation, over-population, and a wide range of other difficulties – racial tension, inequitable income distribution, inadequate facilities for education, ingrained preferences for imported goods and ideas – hinder constructive change throughout the area. Economic and social dependence on Europe and the

United States mock hopes for autonomy in newly independent Caribbean counties, and political freedom is everywhere at risk.

Irene Hawkins provides a generally competent survey of Caribbean economic conditions and some of the factors that impede development programmes. Her account is more informative than analytical, however, and her conclusions often seem at variance with the facts presented. Not that these conclusions are startling; on the contrary, they tend to be blandly homiletic. Thus, on economic development: 'The success of the middle-of-the-road strategy will depend on the readiness of the Caribbean people to change their outlook and way of life. Their leaders must lead the way'. This hortatory and mealy-mouthed tone infuses the whole book and vitiates much of its usefulness.

What is lacking is an understanding of Caribbean culture and society. Hawkins sometimes refers to historical, psychological, and other perspectives that affect West Indian responses to economic issues, but these references tend to be simplistic to the point of naiveté. To explain racial tension in Trinidad, Surinam, and Guyana by saying that 'the Negro enjoys life and spending money while the East Indian . . . tends to lead a family-bound and thrifty life' reduces complex reality to racist stereotype. To criticize Caribbean tourism by noting that 'undoubtedly the climate makes for a lackadaisical attitude, but a good many waiters just do not know the basic principles of serving' tells more about the author's expectations than about Caribbean tourism. To consider Haiti 'in the unique position of starting out fresh on the road along which more advanced neighbours like Jamaica or Trinidad have stumbled thus far', and to suppose that low wages will enable 'small factories with simple tools [to] employ many Haitians,' so that 'the maximum number of Haitians will profit, rather than a few American businessmen amassing large profits', strains credulity. For Hawkins even the wildest dreams of economic development have happy endings. Thus, for West Indian migrants to mainland jungles, 'starting a new life in the depth of Guyana or Belize instead of New York or Toronto will mean a complete change in attitudes and aspirations, something which does not happen overnight. It is likely, however, to be much more rewarding in psychological and cultural terms in the long run.'

Straight thinking and firm action, the author feels, could resolve most economic problems; otherwise all is lost. Thus 'if Caribbean governments fail [to promote tourism properly] they will have thrown away a unique chance to improve the economic and social conditions in their territories'. So with regional co-operation: 'if more Caribbean politicians jump the gun and follow . . . bilateral deals, . . . the Caribbean will have thrown away a unique chance of becoming truly independent.' This book is full of unique chances about to be lost.

Regional economic co-operation is Hawkins' main hope for the area. Following integrations like William Demas and Alistair McIntyre, she would strengthen existing ties and gradually add new countries to the Caribbean Development Bank and CARICOM. Larger local markets and more diverse productive capacities could relieve Caribbean dependency on overseas markets. She recognizes the rivalries

among countries producing the same commodities, the conflicts between larger and smaller territories, the restrictions on movement of persons among lands surfeited with unemployed labour. Yet she believes that economic integration can confer great material benefits while steering Caribbean countries on a middle course between Cuban totalitarianism and Puerto Rican dependency.

But CARICOM's only substantial product to date, as Hawkins inadvertently notes, is conferences. 'Even if there is no actual regional factory so far to prove the progress that has been made since the birth of CARICOM, there is no doubt that the co-ordination of development planning and discussion of joint policies has improved. There are now regular meetings of the relevant ministers through standing committees . . .'

More than any gloomy prognosis, this well-meaning book leads one to fear for the Caribbean future.

DAVID LOWENTHAL

Development Planning in Bangladesh: A Study in Political Economy, NURUL ISLAM; *C. Hurst and Company, London,* 1972; index; pp 267; £8.50.

The subject of this fascinating book is the problems associated with the early attempts to plan economic development in Bangladesh. Written by the former Deputy Chairman of that nation's Planning Commission, Professor Nurul Islam's book is not intended as a guide on how best to tackle the problems of national development planning, although much insight into this vital question is included. Rather, the book provides a rare insider's view of the power relationships that evolved in the planning process between independence following the War of Liberation in 1971 and about 1975. Additionally, Professor Islam is concerned with the way priorities were chosen for the Bangladesh planning effort, the means by which the first national plan emerged and the constraints which limited the initial high hopes of the planners.

The book traces the development of the Bangladesh Planning Commission and examines the influence of the various pressure groups that were concerned with the construction of the 1972–78 Five Year Plan. Economic planning is invariably a compromise among powerful interest groups and Professor Islam clearly delineates the effects of conflict among the politically dominant Awami League, the Civil Service establishment and the new breed of techocrats who were recruited by the first Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

As Professor Islam points out, the early planning experience of Bangladesh was very largely done in a political vacuum as the Mujibuagar Government had not clearly defined its own economic, or even political, objectives when swept into unanticipated power. The experiment with socialism, largely necessitated by the exodus of Pakistani entrepreneurs, was constructed on a day-to-day basis as the plan evolved. In many instances, ideology and economic common sense diverged widely. Political patronage proved a poor way to run nationalised industries and the book devotes a lengthy chapter to the resolution of this development.

With so many urgent sectoral demands for development funds, the revelation of the methods of allocation of available funds among competing ministry-sponsored projects makes compelling reading.

During the period examined by Professor Islam, Bangladesh not only had to begin its own development planning process, but was also faced with a wide array of related crucial economic policy questions, such as its view toward foreign assistance, food import problems, effective taxation measures and private domestic investment. Mistakes were made and the most revealing parts of the book concern the analysis of these errors.

An interesting and frequently overlooked objective of national development plans is that they are not only concerned with policies designed to reach various output targets, but are also concerned with the overall organisational structure of the development effort. The problem of co-ordinating various ministry efforts toward a common goal is central to Professor Islam's discussion. While readily admitting that the academics who ran the Planning Commission during this period were politically naive, he also points out that the complexity of the existing organisational structure would have taxed the most astute politician. Over twenty ministries existed and frequently closely related functions were split between various bodies. With their own political careers constantly in mind, ministers from various departments were frequently unable to agree even upon relevant statistical measures, let alone common inter-ministerial goals.

Professor Islam assumes that the reader is familiar with the Bangladesh story. For the many who followed the early days of Bangladesh's struggle for survival with hopeful anticipation, this book will answer many previously unresolved questions. Additionally, however, it is a candid appraisal of how at least one nation attempted to solve the problems associated with the establishment of its economic planning machinery.

C. L. CHOGUILL

Migration from Rural Areas: the evidence from village studies, JOHN CONNELL, BIPLAB DASGUPTA, ROY LAISHLEY, MICHAEL LIPTON; *University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, Village Studies Programme, O.U.P. India* 1976; pp 228; £4.50.

This book provides a thorough analytic review of more recent literature relating to third world migration, principally rural-urban migration other than forced migration as a result of disasters of a political or climatic nature or contract labour systems. The work benefits from the experience of the Village Studies Programme in India which provides a more rigorous statistical analysis for one chapter. However the material provides a fair balance from other areas with a kaleidoscope perhaps too freely crossing time and geographic boundaries.

The writers took two central questions as to what sorts of villages produce what

sorts of migrants, and as to what are the effects of absence, contact and return upon the villages of origin. The focus is therefore on the rural areas, and a general theme is that the imbalance in access to resources, between regions, between villages, and between families, produces the phenomenon of migration. While many have seen migration as an investment, there is a suggestion (pp 101–103) that there may be a net outflow of resources with migrants, in spite of their remittances home. Thus migration may preserve patterns of inequality and at the cultural level even be used to conserve tradition. In this context the writers suggest that migration is both child and father of inequality, and that it is neither the very poorest (who cannot afford to) nor the very richest (who have no need to) who migrate. Whereas poverty generates household migration, wealth generates individual migration. In attempting to separate out a number of causal variables, the writers produce evidence that youth, maleness, education and urban contact all increase the individual's propensity to migrate. But, as with land-holding, the writers deduce that there is a bimodal pattern of migration with regard to education – migrants being predominantly illiterate on the one hand, or with secondary or further education on the other.

In trying to analyse the diversity of material and migration patterns, the writers abstract an ideal-type migrant village and two ideal types of migrant villagers (pp 198 & 202 ff). While recognising the theoretical difference between the rate and the incidence of migration, the writers could perhaps have explicitly noted that the former is associated with economic-structural, and the latter with psycho-social, factors. Depending on their discipline, researchers tend to concentrate on one or other, and in the experience of this reviewer, Latin America generally produces data on rates and Africa on incidence. There is also a general dearth of material on female migration and its changing patterns in the 1970s, which is naturally reflected here. However, this book is a systematic and comprehensive review of the literature with regard to a very wide range of relevant factors, presented in a readable form.

The writers find that the research on migration leads to four possible policy implications. Firstly, that urban inputs to make rural emigrants more successful once in town may be counter-productive. Secondly, that there is a need to increase the share of total resources in rural areas to discourage migration, provided the distribution of such resources is carefully directed. Related to this is the need for a changed type of rural input, for instance, into irrigation. The most radical policy implication is undoubtedly the need to reduce intra-rural inequality through land redistribution.

This study seems to show the limitations of international generalisations, of the order of 'target' workers, failure, success, reverse migration flows, for policy consideration. There need to be detailed studies in any one country to affect policy at this level, which their Indian data do provide. At the international level there is a need for macro-analysis of differing national rates of urbanisation relating population flows to rural-urban tax differentials and flows, national investment patterns and flows of capital, and the means of extraction of the agricultural surplus by the state. This is not provided by this study, or current migration research – the only directly relevant reference being to Kautsky for 1899! Comparison between Kenya

and Uganda on the one hand and Tanzania and Mozambique on the other might be revealing for instance. The authors have raised the need for active policy orientated research in this field, rather than the current surfeit of passive analysis.

DENNIS PAIN

Prelude to Self Government—Electoral Politics in Papua New Guinea, 1972, DAVID STONE (Ed); *Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra*; pp 547; $ (Aus) 9.95.

Is a detailed series of studies, by thirty-five contributors, of elections that took place over five years ago in a remote land likely to attract many readers of this journal? At first sight probably not. This would be a pity, as this book embraces far more than electoral politics. Papua New Guinea (P.N.G.) is a fascinating country full of rich contrasts.

In 1971/72 society was beginning to change, in some places very rapidly indeed, and with it came a gradual development of political sophistication. This readable and scholarly collection of studies provides an insight to this process of interest to a wide audience.

The first 64 pages provide the backdrop to the case studies. Edward Woolfers presents an historical background which demonstrates the changing attitude of Australia towards the granting of self government; the gap between the urban elite and the less sophisticated villagers; the powerful role of the administration; the localization programme; and the all too gradual emergence of national political parties. For those who first arrived in P.N.G. after 1972 it is hard to comprehend just how far behind Africa this country was in terms of political evolution. Ron May shows that the political education programme was not the metier of the District Administration. It placed excessive emphasis on formal structures rather than informal processes, and training concentrated on the techniques of communication rather than the substance of the message. With little commitment and no firm direction the programme was patchy to say the least. David Stone provides a detailed description of the arguments over methods of voting, nominations, boundaries and the organization of the 1972 elections. His preview of the extraordinary complexity of the background to the elections illustrated by the studies is more interesting. Finally, he sketches the policies and strategies of the four main national political parties, mentions the apprehensions of the Administration, and presents the outlook for the parties prior to the election.

The twenty-five case studies that follow occupy over 86 per cent of the book and cover a fairly representative sample of the 82 'open' and 18 'regional' electorates. (Regional candidates required higher educational qualifications). The studies vary in length, style, focus, bias and interest. The authors included both experienced research workers and local university undergraduates. They mostly followed a general format describing and analysing the environmental background; the candidates; the processes of nomination, campaigning and polling; and drawing conclusions from the results.

The aspects I found most interesting were the factors that appeared to influence the results rather than the procedural details of each election. The environmental background had a significant influence in virtually every case. For instance in the three studies on Lae, a rapidly growing urban centre, the face to face contacts and ease of communication; the conflicts between migrants and villagers, locals and Europeans, 'haves' and 'have nots'; the effect of a highly centralised and not so dynamic administration; and growing industrialisation, were all factors that helped a trade union leader to victory on a Pangu Pati ticket. In the Western and Southern Highlands there is a total contrast. Traditional society, with the emphasis on trading partnerships, war alliances and the 'Wantok System', predominates. Party politics and national issues have little meaning here, while personalities and traditional values do. In fact, the strength of local tradition is a theme that runs through virtually every case. Even in the four Bougainville electorates, where young educated and comparatively radical candidates dominated the scene, where both national and locally based parties were important and where the issues were by no means all parochial, a sympathetic understanding of local customs and sensitivities was vitally important. Another prevalent factor throughout was the ignorance and general lack of interest displayed by the majority of voters in national issues such as self government or the purpose of the elections. As in the 1964 and 1968 elections, many still voted because they thought the government expected them to. In a few electorates like Bulolo there was a surprising dependence on institutions such as the Church as a vehicle for communication and influence. In several areas the influence of certain individuals like Tony Voutas, a former patrol officer and founder member of Pangu, was a key factor. The unexpected visit by the Australian Minister for External Territories and the Administrator (Governor) to Wabag a week before polling and the superbly adroit manner in which Tei Abal played it to his advantage, to win by over 88 per cent of the votes cast, illustrated both the influence of the Administration and the power of a personality. The success of several other candidates was largely due to this strength of personality – a point well demonstrated in Kaviang by Perry Kwan, a flamboyant character of mixed race, who was well-known for his interest in the people and his willingness to help them. Non Papua New Guineans fared less well elsewhere. Two Europeans, both former M.H.A.s, suffered surprising defeats. Tom Leaky lost Markham open through a naive campaign, in which he over-estimated his own strength and made outdated assumptions about his Pangu Party opposition. Wally Lussick lost the New Ireland regional for also allowing himself to lose touch. Perhaps one of the most absorbing studies is that of the election in Dreikikir in the East Sepik which amounted to a contest between a 'cargo movement' and the Pangu Pati. This chapter traces the history of the war under Japanese occupation, the Allied victories, the aftermath and the dramatic effect it had on the society, which gave rise to the Peli Association. Quite apart from its cargo appeal, Peli succeeded because it evolved a highly efficient communications network while Pangu completely lost touch with the people at the grass roots. In the event Peli boycotted the elections but there can be little doubt that in an area that was a Pangu stronghold in 1968, disillusionment and a shift in allegiance to Peli had taken place by 1972.

The final chapter, an overview by David Stone, in which he summarises some of the

results, makes a few comparisons with the 1968 elections and comments on the formation of the National Coalition Government of Michael Somare is the weakest part of the book. A more thorough analysis of the salient issues that emerge from the case studies would have provided a more fitting conclusion to this ambitious exercise.

This book should be of considerable value to those with an interest in election studies and the underlying politics. I hope it will also have the wider appeal it deserves.

WYN REILLY

Urban Transport Economics, DAVID A. HENSHER (Ed); *Cambridge University Press,* 1977; notes and index; pp 285; £3.95 (softback), £10.50 (hardback).

This book, written by a team of fourteen authors, stems from Australia and attempts to cover the spectrum of the relationship of economics with the planning and operation of the urban transport system.

A thorough awareness of economics is now more than ever important for those concerned with transport particularly because of rising costs in recent years. The development of transport systems is so very much related to fundamental questions of the allocation of scarce resources between different ends.

Chapters 2–5 deal with the basic economic aspects of transport; resource allocation, pricing, cost-benefit analysis and evaluation. Kolsen and Docwra (ch 2) pose questions on the most efficient forms of urban transportation against the background of resource allocation and the relatively inflexible supply of transport facilities compared with other goods. Forsyth (ch 3) discusses the pricing of urban transport and some implications of recent theories, including marginal-cost pricing. Hotchkiss (ch 4) then outlines the basis of cost-benefit analysis as a means of appraising an urban transport project from the point of view of the community at large. Stanley and Nash (ch 5) emphasise the political aspects of the evaluation of alternative transport systems and the question of public involvement in the decision-making process.

Hensher, the editor of this book, discusses in chapter 6 the development and application of alternative modelling procedures which can be used in assessing the real demand for transport. Urban freight systems are considered by Hicks (ch 7) with some possible methods of achieving efficiency in freight movement and in the location and layout of terminal facilities.

Hansen, Paterson and Rimmer (chs 8–10) deal with various aspects of the relationship between transport and the land-use pattern or structure of urban areas. The adoption of the optimum physical structure for large-scale new urban development can help to produce the most economic framework for transport operation combined with high capacity and a high frequency of service. This is a most important consideration, particularly in those countries with a high rate of urbanisation, such as many of the developing countries.

Henley (ch 11) looks at the sociology of urban transport planning by considering the social aspects of transport decisions which are now being evaluated by many authorities alongside engineering issues. Finally, Duhs and Beggs review the techniques required for an urban transportation study.

Although originating in Australia, this book has a wide appeal. Apart from covering the various aspects of the subject in a concise way, it also has real value in its excellent international bibliographical notes which can lead the reader into further studies in depth. It provides a very useful reference work in the field of urban transport economics.

ROY W. CRESSWELL

Growing out of poverty, ELIZABETH STAMP (Ed); *Oxforn University Press,* 1977; pp 165; £1.95 (net in UK).

Any voluntary organisation like Oxfam faces the dilemma that money has to be spent on raising money to spend in furtherance of the aims of the organisation. Money spent on fund raising is money which is not available for famine relief. This book is a very neat way of dealing with this conundrum since it manages to publicise the work of the organisation by describing it in such a way as to appeal not only to the in-group which has already adopted Oxfam but also to a wider audience of students, administrators and field workers who for a modest outlay will not only help themselves but Oxfam as well. The royalties accrue to Oxfam and not to the individual authors.

The study and practice of development is full of paradoxes the cruellest of which is that poverty even in absolute terms is as often as not the corollary of substantial gifts or loans of money. An organisation such as Oxfam is less likely to breed this paradox than many other bodies now operating in the poverty field. It does not have vast sums of money at its disposal and it therefore needs to practice the kind of husbandry which it preaches as the genesis of this book testifies.

Growing out of poverty is not a once and for all exercise like feeding the five thousand but a long haul through trial and error with defeat welcomed as much as success for the lessons it has to offer. Father Vanneste's account of the soya bean crop in Zaire is a good illustration of this paradox. Improved veterinary services, healthier livestock, insufficient land, overgrazing is another paradox dealt with in Niall Watson's story of the Maasai rural training and rural development centres among the Samburu people in Kenya.

To the extent that this book has a unifying theme it is that the elimination of poverty in the long run is a judicious mix of the improved use of land and water to increase crop and livestock production leading to higher standards of nutrition involving the wise use of credit combined with an organisation to generate a will to overcome.

SIZANQOBA – we shall overcome. Revolutionary or evolutionary restructuring

of national and international institutions may be necessary as a concomitant of the elimination of poverty but at the end of the day it is people engaged in the type of activity described in this book which will have to cement the revolution if there is one or consolidate each stage of the evolutionary process. This book says nothing about structures but the various chapters linked together by the thread of Oxfam concern throw a great deal of light on the realities of development where the labels and the concepts and the hypotheses meet the acid test of making some people less poot.

L. W. NORWOOD

Singapore: Society in Transition, RIAZ HASSAN (Ed); *Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur,* 1976; tables, figures, index; pp 371; £14.95.

Singapore attracts great interest from students of developing countries, if only because of its single-minded concentration on growth and on the attraction of foreign capital at the expense, many would say, of a more equitable distribution of income, of political freedom, and of mass participation in the political process. This collection of writings by authors all of whom are, or were recently connected with the University of Singapore is to be welcomed for the light that it throws and the data that it provides on conditions and processes in the 'city-state' that forms its subject.

After an editorial introduction, the book is divided into four parts. The first, entitled 'Social Structure: Core Institutions' deals with the economic, political, educational and legal systems, and includes also a chapter on the Singapore bureaucracy and its reactions and adaptations in the face of rapidly changing conditions. The second part deals with 'Aspects of Singapore Culture', from issues of multiracialism and language to those of religion. Part III, on 'The Urban Habitat', includes two contributions only, respectively on planning and urban housing. Part IV, rather curiously headed 'Other Aspects of Social Structure', includes writings on the place of women and of youth in Singapore, on 'Growth, Equity and Race', and demography (which surely deserves a place of greater prominence than in a miscellaneous category). The book concludes with an essay by the editor on 'Symptoms and Syndrome of the Developmental Process', and refers most interestingly to the attitudes, values and behaviour patters of individuals caught up in this rapidly changing and atypical 'developing country'. Finally, there is a valuable bibliography.

It is almost inevitable that the contributions to a collective volume of this sort should vary greatly in length, depth and interest. Some are arresting, or useful correctives of common misapprehensions, or designed to answer just those questions that form in the mind as one contemplates this colonial port city turned scene of growth-at-all-costs. Other chapters are less informative, or repetitive. But, altogether, the editor has done a good job in making a book out of such disparate material.

His efforts, and those of his colleagues invite comparison with recent single-author works on Singapore like Iain Buchanan's *Singapore in Southeast Asia: An Economic and Political Appraisal* (1972). In a nutshell, Riaz Hassan's book is more up-to-date but (significantly) more cautious, less critical and more apolitical.

B. H. FARMER

Book Notes

The Peasant and the Raj, ERIC STOKES; *Cambridge University Press*; maps, glossary, index; pp 308; £12.50.

This scholarly collation of Professor Stokes' essays on peasant India under the British Raj will surely become obligatory reading for students in South East Asia and beyond who are concerned with the historical background to modern rural India. Social scientists, agronomists as well as historians will find in these well written pages, scope for stimulating thought and discussion.

There is much to note: areas where 100 years ago were still abundant with a population density of 150 per sq mile, scarce a mention of Panchyats; above all, the constant theme of the money lender grinding down the peasant cultivators – 'the nefarious activities of the rural usurer and the dangers he posed to continued peasant contentment with British rule'; the apparently maligned zamindars and the 'intermediate peasant "elite" who had the agricultural field largely to themselves when 1951 saw the zamindars abolished'; the 'myth of the size of the landless labourer'. As one would expect there is the constantly recurring theme of the oppressive money lenders. To obtain credit one must provide security. Yet not security but the setbacks of indebtedness are the result of pledging agricultural holdings and/or their crops – without credit agricultural development was possible only for relatively few (until co-operatives and Farmers' Associations were set up later).

Powerful British officials advocated 100 years ago the abolition of tenancy-at-will and the prohibition of the sale of land for unsecured debt, and some insufficient legislation followed.

One chapter compares Indian with African resistance movements – the 1857 mutiny with the 1904/5 Maji Maji rebellion. This reviewer has been to the source of the Maji and spoken with survivors; while of academic interest perhaps, the comparison is really rather arid and pointless, but this small criticism in no way detracts from the overall excellence of Professor Stokes' admirable essays.

The Bureaucracy in India: An Historical Analysis of Development up to 1947, B. B. MISRA; *Oxford University Press*, 1977; appendices, bibliography and index; pp 421; £8.50.

Dr Misra is a distinguished Indian Historian who has made a special study of the East India Company, of the administrative history of his country and of India's political parties; so none is better qualified than he to focus on how the bureaucracy of the sub-continent has developed over the centuries, up to independence and partition of 1947. He makes clear how, following the Mutiny, bureaucratic reforms assumed political dimensions and these affected considerations of merit and efficiency. After World War I Indianisation increased and expatriate input slowly declined, simultaneously with the beginning of the era of 'partial democracy' – officials retaining control over 'reserved subjects.' Provincial autonomy brought immediate importance to the Provincial Civil Service, first created in 1892. The Indian Administrative Service, elitist, prestigious heirs to the ICS was to have 25 per cent of its posts filled by promotion from the PCS. It was and it is a corps d'elite and the effectiveness of Government machinery and the long term future for India's democratic institutions depends very largely upon it.

Integrated Delivery Systems for Social Services, V. JAGANNADHAM and MOHIT BHATTACHARYA; *Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi*; index; pp 85; £5.00.

As the authors very rightly say in their epilogue development is basically dependent on the quality of the human resources available: where these resources are limited it becomes all the more necessary to make the best possible use of the scarce supplies that do exist. This short monograph has as its purpose a review of social services in the Ludhiana urban area of the South Eastern Punjab, and suggestions for their improvement. Ludhiana City has more than trebled in the quarter century since 1951: services are poor, resources are inadequate. The suggestion put forward is for a two-tier system which prima facie seems to provide a serviceable division of service – responsibility between a planning and development authority with community-wide functions and a local area authority whose functions would be limited to their own locality. How to strengthen the two authorities so that they can manage their functions competently and the training on which this would largely depend, should now receive urgent attention if it is not already in hand.

Peasant Movements in West Bengal, SWASTI MITTER; *University of Cambridge, Department of Land Economy*; pp 85.

Commencing in 1967 a Peasant Movement in West Bengal developed out of frustration at the long delay in implementing land reform legislation enacted after India's independence. It was a protest movement which made political leaders aware of the inherent strength of the peasantry *vis-a-vis* the urban rual *elite*, it was a movement that crushed the power of the big landowners and at the same time, aroused a 'new antagonism among the different strata of the peasantry.' Swasti Mitter tells the story simply and clearly in this short monograph.

Agriculture at the Crossroads, UZOM IGBOZURIKE; *University of Ife Press, Nigeria*; illustrations, tables, bibliography and index; pp 116; £4.50.

Dr Igbozurike has written a scholarly, stimulating and in many ways controversial monograph. A little arrogantly perhaps, he measures agricultural success by the extent to which its operations 'are in harmony with their environmental base' and at the same time (and somewhat overdoing the alliteration) meet the food, fibre and physiological needs of the nation. He appears to advocate traditional agricultural methods, to regret the green revolution and to anticipate by the end of the century a world problem not of food shortage but of food surplus. There are those who will remember this form of optimism at the Cambridge Conference on Development in 1970 when not famine but unemployment was considered the greater problem of the future, scarcely borne out by subsequent events.

The value of this thoughtful volume would have been enhanced had the author chosen the simple phrase more often instead of rather too much professional jargon.

Industrial Relations Decrees in Nigeria, R. B. DAVISON; *Ahmadu Bello University Press*; pp 83.

This useful little book provides in questions and answers format, the legal situation in Nigeria affecting Trade Unions, Wage regulations and Trade Disputes, Industrial Courts, Conciliation and Arbitration and Boards of Inquiry.

Status and Duties of Company Directors, G. A. OLAWOYIN; *University of Ife Press*; tables and index; pp 337; £9.00 hardback; £6.00 paperback.

The focus of this book is on the legal status and the legal duties of company directors in Nigeria, and covers Nigerian legislation up to and including 31st March 1977.

Afro-Arab Relations in the New World Order, E. C. CHIBWE; *Julien Friedman*; tables, appendices, index; pp 150; £7.95.

In March 1977 an important Afro-Arab summit took place in Cairo. The author sees this event as a landmark in the development of a relationship aimed at better mutual understanding and at economic co-operation. He points to ways that Arab States could assist Africa by supporting an integrated commodities programme and by contributing to the proposed fund.

Proof of the pudding will, as always, come with the eating, and the proof, one way or another, should soon be forthcoming.

Government Finance Statistics Year Book, 1977; *International Monetary Fund;* pp 278; $10.00 ($4.00 for University libraries and students).

This very welcome Yearbook published by the IMF provides comparable statistics on the finances of all the Fund's member governments. The data presented gives a three year period of each country examined – 1972–3–4 or 1973–4–5 depending on the availability of statistics.

With carefully and clearly set out financial tables, here indeed is a yearbook which should really prove a best seller, for no international economist, University librarian, international agency, government treasury, etc., etc. should fail to have such vital information close to hand. Besides, there is a fund of valuable information for students, and teachers.

The Rulers of German Africa 1884-1914, L. H. GANN and PETER DUIGNAN; *Hoover Institution Publications, Stanford University Press;* appendices, tables, index; pp 286; $17.50.

The authors have already shown their expertise and scholarship in unfolding their history of British Colonial rule in Africa and now very appropriately they provide a complementary volume on the rulers of Germany's short-lived African colonies.

This is, as one would expect from Gann and Duignan, a balanced account, drawn in proper perspective, with attention drawn to the brutalities which were all too common, and attention drawn also to the basic infrastructure for future development which saw strategic railways built, forts constructed and schools (mostly by opening the door for christian missions) and hospitals opened.

A lot of research has gone into this history and there can be no other single volume written in which the personalities of German Governance in Africa are so clearly and fully set out.

This book makes fascinating reading. It will appeal to all seekers after *Africana* and the new rulers of Tanzania, of Togo, of the Cameroun and those who will be ruling Namibia before long, will find much of considerable interest.

RESEARCH REPORT NO 39
Literacy Schools in a Rural Society, MARGARETA and ROLF SJOSTROM; pp 130; SKR 10.00.
RESEARCH REPORT NO 40
New Seeds in Old Soil, MICHAEL STAHL; pp 90; SKR 10.00.
RESEARCH REPORT NO 41
Grain Marketing and Land Reform in Ethiopia, JOHAN HOLMBERG; pp 34; SKR 10.00.
All published by the *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.*

Each study relates to Ethiopia, is up-to-date – indeed the Institute is to be warmly congratulated on the very prompt publication of its research project reports.

Report 39 deals with the Yemissrach Dimts literacy campaign – 'the biggest of the non-governmental literacy operations in rural Ethiopia'. By the end of 1975 more than half a million had participated, the Lutheran World Foundation is the chief financial backer. The researchers found difficulty in reaching the 15–25 age group and recruitment of women was low. Most students were literate when leaving school and many drop-outs were on their way to literacy. How one wonders did they reach the latter conclusion? How many of those who did leave school literate *remained* literate two years later – for that is the nub of the matter.

In *Report No* 40 Michael Stahl admits that his analysis is impressionistic, as a result it appears of no more than 3 months in Ethiopia. While, as he hopes, this may stimulate further research, as a serious research report its value can only be minimal.

In *Report No* 41 Johan Holmberg examines the marketing and pricing of grain after the land reforms introduced by the Dergue Military Government. So short a report can best be regarded as a preliminary introduction, well prepared and well presented – the lesson in effect is 'Help the rural peasants to get a better deal and you antagonize the small but vocal urban population.' If the author can follow up his initial research, with a further study in depth, once the current socio-economic and political/military crisis is over, there should be a very worthwhile picture for our study.

OCCASIONAL PAPER 76/1 **Le Developpement De L'Education et La Contrainte des Resources,** JACQUES HALLAK.
OCCASIONAL PAPER 76/2 **Le Sous-Devel-**

oppement, un Dilemne Cultural?, AHMED MOATASSIME.
OCCASIONAL PAPER 76/4 **Poor Countries Vs Rich; Poor People Vs Rich – whom will the New Economic Order Benefit?** JOHAN GALTURG.
OCCASIONAL PAPER 76/5 **Authoritarism and Land Tenure: Chile 1973-76,** HUGO VILLELA.
Published by the Vienna Institute for Development.

Ahmed Moatassime concludes that in the dual language areas of the Maghreb progress in a developing country depends on the authentic development of a national language on a scientific and cultural base. For his part, Jacques Hallak points to the financial constraints on traditional educational systems in the Third World and sees in this context hope in such an approach as President Nyerere's 'Education through Self-Reliance'. Both these papers form part of a research project on 'Alternatives in Education'.

Johan Galturg's short paper presents a depressing expectation of the New International Economic Order bringing, often a possible period of crises, a better quality of life for the rich industrialised countries, increasing inequalities within and between Third World countries, and continuing poverty. In the long term he envisages the Third World eventually becoming a world of its own – through self-reliance, regional, national, local and individual.

Hugo Villela examines the land tenure agricultural policies of the Military regime in Chile, 1973–76 and concludes that the policies so far followed have been ineffective and self-defeating.

Growth and Development, S. S. PARK; *Martin Robertson*; index; pp 145; £7.85.

The author carried out no less than 15 years of research work at the Bank of Korea. Based on this research he now seeks to formulate 'a practical growth strategy for physical output and employment based on the 'physical output analysis' excluding monetary aspects of economic activities'. The argument runs that monetary savings in a developing country cannot be used to purchase domestic capital goods since such savings are not 'capital' until they are backed by physical capital equipment. No doubt there are other economists who would argue contrariwise.

Planning Process in a District, KAMAL NAYAN KABRA; *Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi*; appendices, bibliography and index; pp 110; £5.00, Rs 30.00.

The text of this little book totals 80 pages; it is somewhat primly written and seems to consist more of generalities linked to theories, than to the practical problems of planning at district level – albeit there is some focus on the tubewells programme and an indication given that progress now has been due to initiative in the private sector.

Project Identification, Formulation and Appraisal, B. S. BHARGAVA, ECS SESHADRI, AMIL RAY; *Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore,* 1977; pp 54; Rs 5.00.

This booklet is the 'report' on a six weeks training programme held at Bangalore in 1976 in the context of Development Administration with the emphasis on industrial development. It really amounts to little more than a post-course prospectus.

AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES 1977/2. **Tensions Politiques et ethniques au Sahel,** NICOLE GRANDIN-BLANC, R. BUIJTENHUIS, J–L. BALANS and B. VERDUZAN; *Afrika Studiecentrum, Leiden, The Netherlands*; pp 82.

This volume contains four essays, each in French on: the origins of the North/South Civil War in the Sudan; the geographical and human contrasting distinctions between North and South Chad; the political interpretation and a planned society in Mauritania where nomadic Maures and black-African agriculturalists traditionally went their very separate ways; the political and ethnic tensions in Sahel – a very short vignette.

British Defence Policy in a Changing World, JOHN BAYLISS (Ed); *Croom Helm, London*; index; pp 295; £9.95.

There are ten contributors to this interesting and unusual study, and plenty of food for thought on the role that an erstwhile Empire should adopt in a world that has changed with great rapidity in a short quarter century.

Tired and weary from a second major world war within the lifetime of many –

victorious on the battlefield against immense odds, but too exhausted as a result to maintain world power status, financially impoverished but motivated with a measure of idealism which enabled a smooth transfer of power to see the end of Empire – at the same time leaving markedly exposed weaknesses which the existence of Empire had cloaked. How the British Government and people reacted and how they were ceaselessly faced with the economic realities of national decline, following compromise policies which weakened national defence and left friends in some despair. The shadow of inadequate finances loomed even larger.

The authors have much of this in mind as with skill and logic they examine how changing post-war circumstances have changed British defence policies and the capacity of Britain's defence system.

Organisations in Modern Life, HERMAN TURK; *Jossey-Bass,* 1977; £12.00.

Electrical engineer turned sociologist, Dr Turk has been director of the laboratory for organizational research at the University of Southern California for more than a decade. He now sets out in forthright somewhat staccato style his thinking on modern social units, in general terms but within the overall context of the United States. 'Human life has become organizational life', he begins, 'the fortunes both good and ill of modern populations depend on countries associations' from schools to political parties, from airlines to football teams.

'Inter-organizational relations are everywhere' . . . 'modern society is constituted, not by persons but by their organisations' . . . from which he proceeds to formulate his propositions about 'macrosocial units', arguing in effect that big if it is not beautiful is certainly unavoidable. He bases his argument on research findings among 130 of the largest US cities. He stresses the need to develop inter-city, inter-regional, inter-organizational linkages so as to create the means to overcome urban poverty and to improve the quality of urban life through better organised social services.

If, as well it may be, Professor Turk points the way, perhaps the inevitable way, to America's urban-life future, maybe this is a cautionary tale and other lands should seek more individual freedom and less organisation from 'those claiming to know best'.

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